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was Solicitor-general, containing thirty-eight Essays; and one still more enlarged in 1625, containing fifty-eight Essays, the year before his death.

The Essays in the subsequent editions are much augmented, according to his own words, "I always alter when I add, so that nothing is finished till all is finished," and they are adorned by happy and familiar illustration, as in the Essay of "Wisdom for a Man's self," which concludes in the edition of 1625, with the following extract, *not to be found in the previous edition*:—"Wisdom for a man's self is in many branches thereof a depraved thing. It is the wisdom of rats, that will be sure to leave a house somewhat before it fall. It is the wisdom of the fox, that thrusts out the badger who digged and made room for him. It is the wisdom of crocodiles that shed tears when they would devour. But that which is specially to be noted is, that those which, as Cicero says of Pompey, are *sui amantes sine rivali*, are many times unfortunate. And whereas they have all their time sacrificed to themselves, they become in the end themselves sacrifices to the inconstancy of fortune, whose wings they thought by their self-wisdom to have pinioned."

So in the Essay upon Adversity, on which he had deeply reflected, before the edition of 1625, when it first appeared, he says: "The virtue of prosperity is temperance, the virtue of adversity

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is fortitude, which in morals is the more heroical virtue. Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament, Adversity is the blessing of the New, which carrieth the great benediction, and the clearer revelation of God's favour. Yet even in the Old Testament, if you listen to David's harp, you shall hear as many hearse-like airs as carols; and the pencil of the Holy Ghost hath laboured more in describing the afflictions of Job than the felicities of Solomon. Prosperity is not without many fears and distastes; and adversity is not without comforts and hopes. We see in needle-works and embroideries, it is more pleasing to have a lively work upon a sad and solemn ground, than to have a dark and melancholy work upon a lightsome ground: judge, therefore, of the pleasure of the heart by the pleasure of the eye. Certainly virtue is like precious odours, most fragrant when they are incensed or crushed: for prosperity doth best discover vice, but adversity doth best discover virtue."

The Essays were immediately translated into French and Italian, and into Latin by some of his friends, amongst whom were Hacket, Bishop of Lichfield, and his constant affectionate friend, Ben Jonson.

His own estimate of the value of this work is thus stated in his letter to the Bishop of Winchester: "As for my Essays, and some other particulars of that nature, I count them but as the

recreations of my other studies, and in that manner purpose to continue them; though I am not ignorant that these kind of writings would, with less pains and assiduity, perhaps yield more lustre and reputation to my name than the others I have in hand.'

Although it was not likely that such lustre and reputation would dazzle him, the admirer of Phocion, who, when applauded, turned to one of his friends and asked, "What have I said amiss?" although popular judgment was not likely to mislead him who concludes his observations upon the objections to learning and the advantages of knowledge, by saying, "Nevertheless I do not pretend, and I know it will be impossible for me, by any pleading of mine, to reverse the judgment either of Æsop's cock that preferred the barley-corn before the gem; or of Midas, that being chosen judge between Apollo, president of the Muses, and Pan, god of the flocks, judged for plenty; or of Paris, that judged for beauty and love against wisdom and power. For these things continue as they have been; but so will that also continue whereupon learning hath ever relied and which faileth not, 'Justificata est sapientia a filiis suis:'" yet he seems to have undervalued this little work, which, for two centuries, has been favourably received by every lover of knowledge and of beauty, and is now so well appreciated that a celebrated Professor of our own times truly says: "The

small volume to which he has given the title of 'Essays,' the best known and the most popular of all his works, is one of those where the superiority of his genius appears to the greatest advantage, the novelty and depth of his reflections often receiving a strong relief from the triteness of the subject. It may be read from beginning to end in a few hours, and yet after the twentieth perusal one seldom fails to remark in it something overlooked before. This, indeed, is a characteristic of all Bacon's writings, and is only to be accounted for by the inexhaustible aliment they furnish to our own thoughts and the sympathetic activity they impart to our torpid faculties.

During his life six or more editions, which seem to have been pirated, were published; and after his death, two spurious Essays "Of Death," and "Of a King," the only authentic Posthumous Essay being the Fragment of an Essay on Fame, which was published by his friend and chaplain Dr. Rawley.

This edition is a transcript of the edition of 1625, with the Posthumous Essays. In the Life of Bacon* there is a minute account of the different editions of the Essays and of their contents.

They may shortly be stated as follows:

First edition, 1597, genuine.

There are two copies of this edition in the Uni-

* By B. Montagu. Appendix, note 3 I.

versity Library at Cambridge: and there is Archbishop Sancroft's copy in Emanuel Library: there is a copy in the Bodleian, and I have a copy.

Second edition, 1598, genuine.

Third edition, 1606, pirated.

Fourth edition, entitled, "The Essaies of Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, the Kings Solliciter Generall. Imprinted at London by Iohn Beale, 1612," genuine. It was the intention of Sir Francis to have dedicated this edition to Henry Prince of Wales, but he was prevented by the death of the Prince on the 6th of November in that year. This appears by the following letter:

To the most high and excellent Prince, Henry, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester.

It may please your Highness,—Having divided my life into the contemplative and active part, I am desirous to give his Majesty and your Highness of the fruits of both, simple though they be. To write just treatises, requireth leisure in the writer and leisure in the reader, and therefore are not so fit, neither in regard of your Highness's princely affairs nor in regard of my continual service; which is the cause that hath made me choose to write certain brief notes, set down rather significantly than curiously, which I have called Essays. The word is late but the thing is ancient; for Seneca's Epistles to Lucilius, if you mark

them well, are but essays, that is, dispersed meditations though conveyed in the form of epistles. These labours of mine, I know, cannot be worthy of your Highness, for what can be worthy of you? But my hope is, they may be as grains of salt, that will rather give you an appetite than offend you with satiety. And although they handle those things wherein both men's lives and their persons are most conversant; yet what I have attained I know not; but I have endeavoured to make them not vulgar, but of a nature whereof a man shall find much in experience and little in books; so as they are neither repetitions nor fancies. But, however, I shall most humbly desire your Highness to accept them in gracious part and to conceive, that if I cannot rest but must shew my dutiful and devoted affection to your Highness in these things which proceed from myself, I shall be much more ready to do it in performance of any of your princely commandments. And so wishing your Highness all princely felicity, I rest your Highness' most humble servant,

1612. FR. BACON.

It was dedicated as follows:

To my loving Brother, Sir John Constable, Knt.

My last Essaies I dedicated to my deare brother Master Anthony Bacon, who is with God. Looking amongst my papers this vacation, I found others of the same nature: which if I myselfe shall not suffer to be lost, it seemeth the world

will not; by the often printing of the former. Missing my brother, I found you next; in respect of bond both of neare allianee, and of straight friendship and societie and particularly of communication in studies. Wherein I must acknowledge my selfe beholding to you. For as my businesse found rest in my contemplations; so my contemplations ever found rest in your loving conference and judgment. So wishing you all good, I remaine your louing brother and friend,

FRA. BACON.

Fifth edition, 1612, pirated. Sixth edition, 1613, pirated. Seventh edition, 1624, pirated. Eighth edition, 1624, pirated. Ninth edition, entitled, "The Essayes or Covnsels, Civill and Morall, of Francis Lo. Vervlam, Viscovnt St. Alban. Newly enlarged. London, Printed by Iohn Haviland for Hanna Barret and Richard Whitaker, and are to be sold at the signe of the King's head in Paul's Churchyard. 1625," genuine.

This edition is a small quarto of 340 pages; it clearly was published by Lord Bacon, and in the next year, 1626, Lord Bacon died. The dedication is as follows, to the Duke of Buckingham:

To the Right Honorable my very good Lo. the Duke of Buckingham his Grace, Lo. High Admirall of England.

Excellent Lo.—Salomon saies, A good name is as a precious oyntment; and I assure myselfe,

such wil your Grace's name bee, with posteritie. For your fortune and merit both, haue beene eminent. And you haue planted things that are like to last. I doe now publish my Essayes; which, of all my other workes, have beene most currant: for that, as it seemes, they come home to mens businesse and bosomes. I haue enlarged them both in number and weight, so that they are indeed a new work. I thought it therefore agreeable to my affection, and obligation to your Grace, to prefix your name before them, both in English and in Latine. For I doe conceiue, that the Latine volume of them (being in the vniuersal language) may last as long as bookes last. My Instauration I dedicated to the king: my Historie of Henry the Seventh, (which I haue now also translated into Latine) and my portions of Naturall History, to the Prince: and these I dedicate to your Grace: being of the best fruits, that by the good encrease which God gives to my pen and labours, I could yeeld. God leade your Grace by the hand. Your Graces most obliged and faithfull seruant, FR. ST. ALBAN.

Of this edition Lord Bacon sent a copy to the Marquis Fiat, with the following letter :*

Monsieur l'Ambassadeur mon Filz,—Voyant que vostre Excellence faict et traite mariages, non

* Baconiana, 201.

seulement entre les Princes d'Angleterre et de France, mais aussi entre les langues (puis que faictes traduire mon liure de l'Advancement des Sciences en Francois) i'ai bien voulu vous envoyer mon liure dernierement imprimé que i'avois pourveu pour vous, mais i'estois en doubte, de le vous envoyer, pour ce qu'il estoit escrit en Anglois. Mais a' cest'heure pour la raison susdicte ie le vous envoye. C'est un recompilement de mes Essays Morales et Civiles; mais tellement enlargiés et enrichiés, tant de nombre que de poix, que c'est de fait un oeuvre nouveau. Ie vous baise les mains, et reste, vostre tres affectionée ami, et tres humble serviteur,

The same in English.

My Lord Ambassador, my Son,—Seeing that your Excellency makes and treats of marriages, not only betwixt the Princes of France and England, but also betwixt their languages (for you have caused my book of the Advancement of Learning to be translated into French), I was much inclined to make you a present of the last book which I published, and which I had in readiness for you. I was sometimes in doubt whether I ought to have sent it to you, because it was written in the English tongue. But now, for that very reason, I send it to you. It is a recompilement of my Essays, Moral and Civil; but in such manner enlarged and enriched both in number and

weight, that it is in effect a new work. I kiss your hands, and remain your most affectionate friend and most humble servant, &c.

Of the translation of the Essays into Latin, Bacon speaks in the following letter:—

"To Mr. Tobie Mathew.—It is true my labours are now most set to have those works which I had formerly published, as that of Advancement of Learning, that of Henry VII., that of the Essays, being retractate and made more perfect, well translated into Latin by the help of some good pens which forsake me not. For these modern languages will, at one time or other, play the bankrupt with books; and since I have lost much time with this age, I would be glad, as God shall give me leave, to recover it with posterity. For the Essay of Friendship, while I took your speech of it for a cursory request, I took my promise for a compliment. But since you call for it, I shall perform it."

In his letter to Father Fulgentio, giving some account of his writings, he says, "The Novum Organum should immediately follow, but my Moral and Political writings step in between as being more finished. These are the History of King Henry VII., and the small book, which in your language you have called Saggi Morali, but I give it a graver title, that of Sermones Fideles, or Interiora Rerum, and these Essays will not

only be enlarged in number, but still more in substance."

The nature of the Latin edition and of the Essays in general is thus stated by Archbishop Tenison:

"The Essays, or Counsels Civil and Moral, though a by-work also, do yet make up a book of greater weight by far than the apothegms: and coming home to men's business and bosoms, his lordship entertained this persuasion concerning them, that the Latin volume might last as long as books should last. His Lordship wrote them in the English tongue, and enlarged them as occasion served, and at last added to them the Colours of Good and Evil, which are likewise found in his book De Augmentis. The Latin translation of them was a work performed by divers hands; by those of Dr. Hacket (late Bishop of Lichfield), Mr. Benjamin Jonson (the learned and judicious poet), and some others, whose names I once heard from Dr. Rawley, but I cannot now recall them. To this Latin edition, he gave the title of Sermones Fideles, after the manner of the Jews, who called the words Adagies or Observations of the Wise, Faithful Sayings; that is, credible propositions worthy of firm assent and ready acceptance. And (as I think) he alluded more particularly, in this title, to a passage in Ecclesiastes, where the Preacher saith that he sought to find out Verba Delectabilia (as Tremellius rendereth the Hebrew),

pleasant words (that is, perhaps, his Book of Canticles;) and Verba Fidelia (as the same Tremellius), Faithful Sayings; meaning, it may be, his Collection of Proverbs. In the next verse, he calls them words of the wise, and so many goads and nails given 'Ab eodem pastore,' from the same shepherd [of the flock of Israel.]"

In the year 1638, Rawley published in folio a volume containing amongst other works, "Sermones Fideles, ab ipso Honoratissimo Auctore, præterquam in paucis, Latinitate donati." In his address to the reader he says: "Accedunt, quas prius Delibationes Civiles et Morales inscripserat: quas etiam in linguas plurimas modernas translatas esse novit; sed eas postea, et numero et pondere, auxit; in tantum, ut veluti opus novum videri possint; quas mutato titulo, Sermones Fideles, sive Interiora Rerum, inscribi placuit. Addi etiam voluit." The title-page and dedication are annexed: "Sermones Fideles sive Interiora Rerum. Per Franciscum Baconum Baronem de Vervlamio, Vice-Comitem Sancti Albani. Londini Excusum typis Edwardi Griffin. Prostant ad Insignia Regia in Cœmeterio D. Pauli, apud Richardum Whitakerum, 1638."

Illustri et Excellenti Domino Georgio Duci Buckinghamiæ, summo Angliæ Admirallio.

Honoratissime Domine,—Salomon inquit, Nomen bonum est instar vnguenti fragrantis et

pretiosi; neque dubito, quin tale futurum sit nomen tuum apud posteros. Etenim et fortuna, et merita tua, præcelluerunt. Et videris ea plantasse, quæ sint duratura. In lucem jam edere mihi visum est Delibationes meas, quæ ex omnibus meis operibus fuerunt acceptissimæ: quia forsitan videntur, præ cæteris, hominum negotia stringere, et in sinus fluere. Eas autem auxi, et numero, et pondere: in tantum, ut plane opus novum sint. Consentaneum igitur duxi, affectui, et obligationi meæ, erga illustrissimam dominationem tuam, ut nomen tuum illis præfigam, tam in editione Anglica, quam Latina. Etenim, in bona spe sum, volumen earum in Latinam, (linguam scilicet universalem) versum, posse durare, quamdiu libri et literæ durent. Instaurationem meam regi dicavi: Historiam Regni Henrici Septimi, (quam etiam in Latinum verti) et portiones meas Naturalis Historiæ Principi: has autem delibationes illustrissimæ dominationi tuæ dico; cùm sint, ex fructibus optimis quos gratia divinâ calami mei laboribus indulgente, exhibere potui. Deus illustrissimam dominationem tuam manu ducat. Illustrissimæ Dominationis tuæ servus devinctissimus et fidelis, FR. S. ALBAN.

In the year 1618, The Essayes, together with the Wisdom of the Ancients, was translated into Italian, and dedicated to Cosmo de Medici, by Tobie Mathew; and in the following year the Essays were

translated into French by Sir Arthur Gorges, and printed in London.

WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS.

In the year 1609, as a relaxation from abstruse speculations, he published in Latin his interesting little work, "De Sapientia Veterum."

This tract seems, in former times, to have been much valued. The fables, abounding with a union of deep thought and poetic beauty, are thirty-one in number, of which a part of "The Sirens, or Pleasures," may be selected as a specimen.

In this fable he explains the common but erroneous supposition, that knowledge and the conformity of the will, knowing and acting, are convertible terms.—Of this error he, in his Essay of "Custom and Education," admonishes his readers, by saying, "Men's thoughts are much according to their inclination; their discourse and speeches according to their learning and infused opinions, but their deeds are after as they have been accustomed: Æsop's damsel, transformed from a cat to a woman, sat very demurely at the board-end till a mouse ran before her."—In the fable of the Sirens he exhibits the same truth, saying, "The habitation of the Sirens was in certain pleasant islands, from whence, as soon as out of their watch-tower they discovered any ships approaching, with their sweet tunes they would first entice

and stay them, and, having them in their power, would destroy them; and, so great were the mischiefs they did, that these isles of the syrens, even as far off as man can ken them, appeared all over white with the bones of unburied carcasses: by which it is signified that albeit the examples of afflictions be manifest and eminent, yet they do not sufficiently deter us from the wicked enticements of pleasure."

The following is the account of the different editions of this work:—The first was published in 1609. In February 27, 1610, Lord Bacon wrote to Mr. Mathew, upon sending his book De Sapientia Veterum:

"Mr. Mathew,—I do very heartily thank you for your letter of the 24th of August from Salamanca; and in recompence therefore I send you a little work of mine that hath begun to pass the world. They tell me my Latin is turned into silver, and become current: had you been here, you should have been my inquisitor before it came forth; but, I think, the greatest inquisitor in Spain will allow it. But one thing you must pardon me if I make no haste to believe, that the world should be grown to such an ecstasy as to reject truth in philosophy, because the author dissenteth in religion; no more than they do by Aristotle or Averroes. My great work goeth forward; and after my manner, I alter even when I add. So that nothing is finished till all be finished.

This I have written in the midst of a term and parliament; thinking no time so possessed, but that I should talk of these matters with so good and dear a friend. And so with my wonted wishes I leave you to God's goodness.

"From Gray's Inn, Feb. 27, 1610."

And in his letter to Father Fulgentio, giving some account of his writings, he says, "My Essays will not only be enlarged in number, but still more in substance. Along with them goes the little piece 'De Sapientia Veterum.'"

In the "Advancement of Learning" he says, "There remaineth yet another use of poesy parabolical, opposite to that which we last mentioned: for that tendeth to demonstrate and illustrate that which is taught or delivered, and this other to retire and obscure it: that is, when the secrets and mysteries of religion, policy, or philosophy, are involved in fables or parables. Of this in divine poesy we see the use is authorized. In heathen poesy we see the exposition of fables doth fall out sometimes with great felicity; as in the fable that the giants being overthrown in their war against the gods, the Earth, their mother, in revenge thereof brought forth Fame:

'Illam Terra parens, irâ irritata deorum,
Extremam, ut perhibent, Cœo Enceladoque sororem
Progenuit,'

expounded, that when princes and monarchs have suppressed actual and open rebels, then the ma

lignity of the people, which is the mother of rebellion, doth bring forth libels and slanders, and taxations of the state, which is of the same kind with rebellion, but more feminine. So in the fable, that the rest of the gods having conspired to bind Jupiter, Pallas called Briareus with his hundred hands to his aid, expounded, that monarchies need not fear any curbing of their absoluteness by mighty subjects, as long as by wisdom they keep the hearts of the people, who will be sure to come in on their side. So in the fable, that Achilles was brought up under Chiron the centaur, who was part a man and part a beast, expounded ingeniously, but corruptly by Machiavel, that it belongeth to the education and discipline of princes to know as well how to play the part of the lion in violence, and the fox in guile, as of the man in virtue and justice. Nevertheless, in many the like encounters, I do rather think that the fable was first, and the exposition then devised, than that the moral was first, and thereupon the fable framed. For I find it was an ancient vanity in Chrysippus, that troubled himself with great contention to fasten the assertions of the Stoics upon the fictions of the ancient poets; but yet that all the fables and fictions of the poets were but pleasure and not figure, I interpose no opinion. Surely of those poets which are now extant, even Homer himself, (notwithstanding he was made a kind of Scripture by the latter schools

of the Grecians,) yet I should without any difficulty pronounce that his fables had no such inwardness in his own meaning; but what they might have upon a more original tradition, is not easy to affirm; for he was not the inventor of many of them."

In the treatise "De Augmentis," the same sentiments will be found with a slight alteration in the expressions. He says, "there is another use of parabolical poesy opposite to the former, which tendeth to the folding up of those things, the dignity whereof deserves to be retired and distinguished, as with a drawn curtain: that is, when the secrets and mysteries of religion, policy, and philosophy are veiled and invested with fables and parables. But whether there be any mystical sense couched under the ancient fables of the poets, may admit some doubt: and indeed for our part we incline to this opinion, as to think that there was an infused mystery in many of the ancient fables of the poets. Neither doth it move us that these matters are left commonly to schoolboys and grammarians, and so are embased, that we should therefore make a slight judgment upon them: but contrariwise because it is clear that the writings which recite those fables, of all the writings of men, next to sacred writ, are the most ancient: and that the fables themselves are far more ancient than they (being they are alleged by those writers, not as excogitated by them, but

as credited and recepted before) seem to be, like a thin rarefied air, which from the traditions of more ancient nations, fell into the flutes of the Grecians."

Of this tract, Archbishop Tenison in his Baconiana, says, "In the seventh place, I may reckon his book De Sapientia Veterum, written by him in Latin, and set forth a second time with enlargement; and translated into English by Sir Arthur Gorges: a book in which the sages of former times are rendered more wise than it may be they were, by so dextrous an interpreter of their fables. It is this book which Mr. Sandys means, in those words which he hath put before his notes, on the Metamorphosis of Ovid. 'Of modern writers, I have received the greatest light from Geraldus, Pontanus, Ficinus, Vives, Comes, Scaliger, Sabinus, Pierius, and the crown of the latter, the Viscount of St. Albans.'

"It is true, the design of this book was instruction in natural and civil matters, either couched by the ancients under those fictions, or rather made to seem to be so by his lordship's wit, in the opening and applying of them. But because the first ground of it is poetical story, therefore let it have this place, till a fitter be found for it."

The author of Bacon's Life, in the Biographia Britannica, says, "That he might relieve himself a little from the severity of these studies, and as it

were amuse himself with erecting a magnificent pavilion, while his great palace of philosophy was building: he composed and sent abroad in 1610, his celebrated treatise Of the Wisdom of the Ancients, in which he showed that none had studied them more closely, was better acquainted with their beauties, or had pierced deeper into their meaning. There have been very few books published, either in this or in any other nation, which either deserved or met with more general applause than this, and scarce any that are like to retain it longer, for in this performance Sir Francis Bacon gave a singular proof of his capacity to please all parties in literature, as in his political conduct he stood fair with all the parties in the nation. The admirers of antiquity were charmed with this discourse, which seems expressly calculated to justify their admiration; and, on the other hand, their opposites were no less pleased with a piece, from which they thought they could demonstrate that the sagacity of a modern genius had found out much better meanings for the ancients than ever were meant by them.

And Mallet, in his life of Bacon, says, "In 1610 he published another treatise, entitled Of the Wisdom of the Ancients. This work bears the same stamp of an original and inventive genius with his other performances. Resolving no to tread in the steps of those who had gone b

fore him, men, according to his own expression, not learned beyond certain common places, he strikes out a new tract for himself, and enters into the most secret recesses of this wild and shadowy region, so as to appear new on a known and beaten subject. Upon the whole, if we cannot bring ourselves readily to believe that there is all the physical, moral, and political meaning veiled under those fables of antiquity, which he has discovered in them, we must own that it required no common penetration to be mistaken with so great an appearance of probability on his side. Though it still remains doubtful whether the ancients were so knowing as he attempts to shew they were, the variety and depth of his own knowledge are, in that very attempt unquestionable."

In the year 1619, this tract was translated by Sir Arthur Gorges. Prefixed to the work are two letters; the one to the Earl of Salisbury, the other to the University of Cambridge, which Gorges omits, and dedicates his translation to the high and illustrious Princess the Lady Elizabeth of Great Britain, Duchess of Baviare, Countess Palatine of Rheine, and Chief Electress of the Empire.

This translation, it should be noted, was published during the life of Lord Bacon by a great admirer of his works.

The editions of this work with which I am acquainted are :

Year.	*Language.*	*Printer.*	*Place.*	*Size.*
1609	Latin	R. Barker	London	12mo.
1617	Ditto	J. Bill	Ditto	Ditto.
1618	Italian	G. Bill	Ditto	Ditto.
1619	English	J. Bill	Ditto	Ditto.
1620	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
1633	Latin	F. Maire	Lug. Bat.	Ditto.
1634	Ditto	F. Kingston	London	Ditto.
1638	Ditto	E. Griffin	Ditto	Folio.
1691	Ditto	H. Wetstein	Amsterdam	12mo.
1804	French	H. Frantin	Dijon	8vo.

For the translation of this little volume I am indebted to the learned Mr. Herman Merivale, the son of my esteemed and kind friend and fellow-labourer in the resistance of innovation and the encouragement of Reform, Mr. Merivale, one of the Commissioners of the Court of Bankruptcy.

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ESSAYS.

ESSAYS.

I. OF TRUTH.

WHAT is truth? said jesting Pilate; and would not stay for an answer. Certainly there be that delight in giddiness; and count it a bondage to fix a belief; affecting free-will in thinking, as well as in acting. And though the sects of philosophers of that kind be gone, yet there remain certain discoursing wits, which are of the same veins, though there be not so much blood in them as was in those of the ancients. But it is not only the difficulty and labour which men take in finding out of truth; nor again, that when it is found, it imposeth upon men's thoughts, that doth bring lies in favour; but a natural though corrupt love of the lie itself. One of the later school of the Grecians examineth the matter, and is at a stand to think what should be in it, that men should love lies; where neither they make for pleasure, as with poets; nor for advantage, as with the merchant, but for the lie's sake. But I cannot tell: this same truth is a naked and open day-light, that doth not shew the masks, and

mummeries, and triumphs of the world, half so stately and daintily as candle-lights. Truth may perhaps come to the price of a pearl, that sheweth best by day, but it will not rise to the price of a diamond or carbuncle, that sheweth best in varied lights. A mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure. Doth any man doubt, that if there were taken out of men's minds, vain opinions, flattering hopes, false valuations, imaginations as one would, and the like, but it would leave the minds of a number of men, poor shrunken things, full of melancholy and indisposition, and unpleasing to themselves? One of the fathers, in great severity, called poesy, "vinum dæmonum," because it filleth the imagination, and yet it is but with the shadow of a lie. But it is not the lie that passeth through the mind, but the lie that sinketh in, and settleth in it, that doth the hurt, such as we spake of before. But howsoever these things are thus in men's depraved judgments and affections, yet truth, which only doth judge itself, teacheth, that the inquiry of truth, which is the love-making, or wooing of it, the knowledge of truth, which is the presence of it, and the belief of truth, which is the enjoying of it, is the sovereign good of human nature. The first creature of God, in the works of the days, was the light of the sense: the last was the light of reason; and his sabbath work ever since, is the illumination of his Spirit. First, he breathed light upon the face of the matter, or chaos; then

he breathed light into the face of man; and still he breatheth and inspireth light into the face of his chosen. The poet that beautified the sect, that was otherwise inferior to the rest, saith yet excellently well: "It is a pleasure to stand upon the shore, and to see ships tossed upon the sea: a pleasure to stand in the window of a castle, and to see a battle, and the adventures thereof below: but no pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the vantage ground of truth, (a hill not to be commanded, and where the air is always clear and serene), and to see the errors, and wanderings, and mists, and tempests, in the vale below:" so always that this prospect be with pity, and not with swelling or pride. Certainly, it is heaven upon earth, to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in providence, and turn upon the poles of truth.

To pass from theological and philosophical truth, to the truth of civil business; it will be acknowleged even by those that practise it not, that clear and round dealing is the honour of man's nature, and that mixture of falsehood is like alloy in coin of gold and silver, which may make the metal work the better, but it embaseth it. For these winding and crooked courses are the goings of the serpent; which goeth basely upon the belly, and not upon the feet. There is no vice that doth so cover a man with shame as to be found false and perfidious; and therefore Montaigne saith

prettily, when he inquired the reason, why the word of the lie should be such a disgrace, and such an odious charge, saith he, "If it be well weighed, to say that a man lieth, is as much as to say, that he is brave towards God, and a coward towards men. For a lie faces God, and shrinks from man." Surely the wickedness of falsehood, and breach of faith cannot possibly be so highly expressed, as in that it shall be the last peal to call the judgments of God upon the generations of men: it being foretold, that when "Christ cometh," he shall not "find faith upon the earth."

II. OF DEATH.

MEN fear death, as children fear to go in the dark; and as that natural fear in children is increased with tales, so is the other. Certainly, the contemplation of death, as the wages of sin, and passage to another world, is holy and religious; but the fear of it, as a tribute due unto nature, is weak. Yet in religious meditations, there is sometimes mixture of vanity and of superstition. You shall read in some of the friars' books of mortification, that a man should think with himself, what the pain is, if he have but his finger's end pressed or tortured; and thereby imagine what the pains of death are, when the whole body is

corrupted and dissolved; when many times death passeth with less pain than the torture of a limb: for the most vital parts are not the quickest of sense. And by him that spake only as a philosopher, and natural man, it was well said, "Pompa mortis magis terret, quam mors ipsa." Groans and convulsions, and a discoloured face, and friends weeping, and blacks and obsequies, and the like, show death terrible. It is worthy the observing, that there is no passion in the mind of man so weak, but it mates and masters the fear of death; and therefore death is no such terrible enemy when a man hath so many attendants about him that can win the combat of him. Revenge triumphs over death; love slights it; honour aspireth to it; grief flieth to it; fear pre-occupateth it; nay, we read, after Otho the emperor had slain himself, pity (which is the tenderest of affections) provoked many to die out of mere compassion to their sovereign, and as the truest sort of followers. Nay, Seneca adds, niceness and satiety: "Cogita quam diu eadem feceris; mori velle, non tantum fortis, aut miser, sed etiam fastidiosus potest." A man would die, though he were neither valiant nor miserable, only upon a weariness to do the same thing so oft over and over. It is no less worthy to observe, how little alteration in good spirits the approaches of death make: for they appear to be the same men till the last instant. Augustus Cæsar died in a compliment; "Livia, conjugii

nostri memor, vive et vale." Tiberius in dissimulation, as Tacitus saith of him, "Jam Tiberium vires et corpus, non dissimulatio, deserebant:" Vespasian in a jest, sitting upon the stool, "Ut, puto Deus fio:" Galba with a sentence, "Feri, si ex re sit populi Romani," holding forth his neck; Septimius Severus in dispatch, "Adeste, si quid mihi restat agendum," and the like. Certainly the Stoics bestowed too much cost upon death, and by their great preparations made it appear more fearful. Better, saith he, "qui finem vitæ extremum inter munera ponat naturæ." It is as natural to die as to be born; and to a little infant, perhaps, the one is as painful as the other. He that dies in an earnest pursuit, is like one that is wounded in hot blood; who, for the time, scarce feels the hurt; and therefore a mind fixed and bent upon somewhat that is good, doth avert the dolours of death; but, above all, believe it, the sweetest canticle is, "Nunc dimittis" when a man hath obtained worthy ends and expectations. Death hath this also, that it openeth the gate to good fame, and extinguisheth envy: "Extinctus amabitur idem."

III. OF UNITY IN RELIGION.

RELIGION being the chief band of human society, it is a happy thing when itself is well contained within the true band of unity. The quarrels and divisions about religion were evils unknown to the heathen. The reason was, because the religion of the heathen consisted rather in rites and ceremonies, than in any constant belief: for you may imagine what kind of faith theirs was, when the chief doctors and fathers of their church were the poets. But the true God hath this attribute, that he is a jealous God; and therefore his worship and religion will endure no mixture nor partner. We shall therefore speak a few words concerning the unity of the church; what are the fruits thereof; what the bounds; and what the means.

The fruits of unity (next unto the well pleasing of God, which is all in all) are two; the one towards those that are without the church, the other towards those that are within. For the former, it is certain, that heresies and schisms are of all others the greatest scandals; yea, more than corruption of manners: for as in the natural body a wound or solution of continuity is worse than a corrupt humour, so in the spiritual: so that

nothing doth so much keep men out of the church, and drive men out of the church, as breach of unity; and, therefore, whensoever it cometh to that pass that one saith, "ecce in deserto," another saith, "ecce in penetralibus;" that is, when some men seek Christ in the conventicles of heretics, and others in an outward face of a church, that voice had need continually to sound in men's ears, "nolite exire,"—"go not out." The doctor of the Gentiles (the propriety of whose vocation drew him to have a special care of those without) saith, "If a heathen come in, and hear you speak with several tongues, will he not say that you are mad?" and, certainly, it is little better: when atheists and profane persons do hear of so many discordant and contrary opinions in religion, it doth avert them from the church, and maketh them "to sit down in the chair of the scorners." It is but a light thing to be vouched in so serious a matter, but yet it expresseth well the deformity. There is a master of scoffing that in his catalogue of books of a feigned library, sets down this title of a book, "The Morris-Dance of Heretics:" for, indeed, every sect of them hath a diverse posture, or cringe, by themselves, which cannot but move derision in worldlings and depraved politics, who are apt to contemn holy things.

As for the fruit towards those that are within, it is peace, which containeth infinite blessings; it establisheth faith; it kindleth charity: the out-

ward peace of the church distilleth into peace of conscience, and it turneth the labours of writing and reading of controversies into treatises of mortification and devotion.

Concerning the bounds of unity, the true placing of them importeth exceedingly. There appear to be two extremes: for to certain zealots all speech of pacification is odious. "Is it peace, Jehu?"—"What hast thou to do with peace? turn thee behind me." Peace is not the matter, but following, and party. Contrariwise, certain Laodiceans and lukewarm persons think they may accommodate points of religion by middle ways, and taking part of both, and witty reconcilements, as if they would make an arbitrement between God and man. Both these extremes are to be avoided; which will be done if the league of Christians, penned by our Saviour himself, were in the two cross clauses thereof soundly and plainly expounded: "He that is not with us is against us;" and again, "He that is not against us is with us;" that is, if the points fundamental, and of substance in religion, were truly discerned and distinguished from points not merely of faith, but of opinion, order, or good intention. This is a thing may seem to many a matter trivial, and done already; but if it were done less partially, it would be embraced more generally.

Of this I may give only this advice, according to my small model. Men ought to take heed of

rending God's church by two kinds of controversies; the one is, when the matter of the point controverted is too small and light, not worth the heat and strife about it, kindled only by contradiction; for, as it is noted by one of the fathers, Christ's coat indeed had no seam, but the church's vesture was of divers colours; whereupon he saith, "in veste varietas sit, scissura non sit," they be two things, unity and uniformity; the other is, when the matter of the point controverted is great, but it is driven to an over great subtilty and obscurity, so that it becometh a thing rather ingenious than substantial. A man that is of judgment and understanding shall sometimes hear ignorant men differ, and know well within himself, that those which so differ mean one thing, and yet they themselves would never agree: and if it come so to pass in that distance of judgment, which is between man and man, shall we not think that God above, that knows the heart, doth not discern that frail men, in some of their contradictions, intend the same thing and accepteth of both? The nature of such controversies is excellently expressed by St. Paul, in the warning and precept that he giveth concerning the same, "devita profanas vocum novitates, et oppositiones falsi nominis scientiæ." Men create oppositions which are not, and put them into new terms so fixed, as whereas the meaning ought to govern the term, the term in effect governeth the meaning. There be also two

false peaces, or unities: the one, when the peace is grounded but upon an implicit ignorance; for all colours will agree in the dark: the other, when it is pieced up upon a direct admission of contraries in fundamental points: for truth and falsehood, in such things, are like the iron and clay in the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image; they may cleave, but they will not incorporate.

Concerning the means of procuring unity, men must beware, that, in the procuring or muniting of religious unity, they do not dissolve and deface the laws of charity and of human society. There be two swords amongst Christians, the spiritual and temporal; and both have their due office and place in the maintenance of religion; but we may not take up the third sword, which is Mahomet's sword, or like unto it: that is, to propagate religion by wars, or by sanguinary persecutions to force consciences; except it be in cases of overt scandal, blasphemy, or intermixture of practice against the state; much less to nourish seditions; to authorize conspiracies and rebellions; to put the sword into the people's hands, and the like, tending to the subversion of all government, which is the ordinance of God; for this is but to dash the first table against the second; and so to consider men as Christians, as we forget that they are men. Lucretius the poet, when he beheld the act of Agamemnon, that could endure the sacrificing of his own daughter, exclaimed:

" Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum."

What would he have said, if he had known of the massacre in France, or the powder treason of England? He would have been seven times more epicure and atheist than he was; for as the temporal sword is to be drawn with great circumspection in cases of religion, so it is a thing monstrous to put into the hands of the common people; let that be left unto the anabaptists, and other furies. It was great blasphemy, when the devil said, " I will ascend and be like the Highest;" but it is greater blasphemy to personate God, and bring him in saying, " I will descend, and be like the prince of darkness:" and what is it better, to make the cause of religion to descend to the cruel and execrable actions of murdering princes, butchery of people, and subversion of states and governments? Surely this is to bring down the Holy Ghost, instead of the likeness of a dove, in the shape of a vulture or raven; and to set out of the bark of a Christian church a flag of a bark of pirates and assassins; therefore it is most necessary that the church by doctrine and decree, princes by their sword, and all learnings, both Christian and moral, as by their Mercury rod do damn, and send to hell for ever, those facts and opinions tending to the support of the same, as hath been already in good part done. Surely in councils concerning religion, that council of the apostle would be prefixed, " Ira hominis non im-

plet justitiam Dei:" and it was a notable observation of a wise father, and no less ingenuously confessed, that those which held and persuaded pressure of consciences, were commonly interested therein themselves for their own ends.

IV. OF REVENGE.

REVENGE is a kind of wild justice, which the more man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out: for as for the first wrong, it doth but offend the law, but the revenge of that wrong putteth the law out of office. Certainly, in taking revenge, a man is but even with his enemy; but in passing it over, he is superior; for it is a prince's part to pardon: and Solomon, I am sure, saith, "It is the glory of a man to pass by an offence." That which is past is gone and irrevocable, and wise men have enough to do with things present and to come; therefore they do but trifle with themselves, that labour in past matters. There is no man doth a wrong for the wrong's sake, but thereby to purchase himself profit, or pleasure, or honour, or the like; therefore why should I be angry with a man for loving himself better than me? And if any man should do wrong, merely out of ill-nature, why, yet it is but like the thorn or brier, which prick and scratch,

because they can do no other. The most tolerable sort of revenge is for those wrongs which there is no law to remedy; but then, let a man take heed the revenge be such as there is no law to punish, else a man's enemy is still before hand, and it is two for one. Some, when they take revenge, are desirous the party should know whence it cometh: this is the more generous; for the delight seemeth to be not so much in doing the hurt as in making the party repent: but base and crafty cowards are like the arrow that flieth in the dark. Cosmus, duke of Florence, had a desperate saying against perfidious or neglecting friends, as if those wrongs were unpardonable. "You shall read," saith he, "that we are commanded to forgive our enemies, but you never read that we are commanded to forgive our friends." But yet the spirit of Job was in a better tune: "Shall we," saith he, "take good at God's hands, and not be content to take evil also?" and so of friends in a proportion. This is certain, that a man that studieth revenge, keeps his own wounds green, which otherwise would heal and do well. Public revenges are for the most part fortunate; as that for the death of Cæsar: for the death of Pertinax; for the death of Henry the Third of France; and many more. But in private revenges it is not so; nay, rather vindictive persons live the life of witches: who, as they are mischievous, so end they unfortunate.

V. OF ADVERSITY.

IT was a high speech of Seneca (after the manner of the Stoics), that the good things which belong to prosperity are to be wished, but the good things that belong to adversity are to be admired: "Bona rerum secundarum optabilia, adversarum mirabilia." Certainly, if miracles be the command over nature, they appear most in adversity. It is yet a higher speech of his than the other (much too high for a heathen), "It is true greatness to have in one the frailty of a man, and the security of a God:"—"Vere magnum habere fragilitatem hominis, securitatem Dei." This would have done better in poesy, where transcendencies are more allowed; and the poets, indeed, have been busy with it; for it is in effect the thing which is figured in that strange fiction of the ancient poets, which seemeth not to be without mystery; nay, and to have some approach to the state of a Christian, "that Hercules, when he went to unbind Prometheus (by whom human nature is represented), sailed the length of the great ocean in an earthen pot or pitcher, lively describing Christian resolution, that saileth in the frail bark of the flesh through the waves of the world." But to speak in a mean, the virtue of prosperity is temperance, the virtue of adversity is fortitude, which in morals

is the more heroical virtue. Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament, adversity is the blessing of the New, which carrieth the greater benediction, and the clearer revelation of God's favour. Yet even in the Old Testament, if you listen to David's harp, you shall hear as many hearse-like airs as carols; and the pencil of the Holy Ghost hath laboured more in describing the afflictions of Job than the felicities of Solomon. Prosperity is not without many fears and distastes; and adversity is not without comforts and hopes. We see in needle works and embroideries, it is more pleasing to have a lively work upon a sad and solemn ground, than to have a dark and melancholy work upon a lightsome ground: judge, therefore, of the pleasure of the heart by the pleasure of the eye. Certainly virtue is like precious odours, most fragrant when they are incensed, or crushed: for prosperity doth best discover vice, but adversity doth best discover virtue.

VI. OF SIMULATION AND DISSIMULATION

DISSIMULATION is but a faint kind of policy, or wisdom; for it asketh a strong wit and a strong heart to know when to tell truth, and to do it: therefore it is the weaker sort of politicians that are the greatest dissemblers.

Tacitus saith, "Livia sorted well with the arts of her husband, and dissimulation of her son; attributing arts or policy to Augustus, and dissimulation to Tiberius:" and again, when Mucianus encourageth Vespasian to take arms against Vitellius, he saith, "We rise not against the piercing judgment of Augustus, nor the extreme caution or closeness of Tiberius:" these properties of arts or policy, and dissimulation or closeness, are indeed habits and faculties several, and to be distinguished; for if a man have that penetration of judgment as he can discern what things are to be laid open, and what to be secreted, and what to be shewed at half lights, and to whom and when, (which indeed are arts of state, and arts of life, as Tacitus well calleth them,) to him a habit of dissimulation is a hinderance and a poorness. But if a man cannot attain to that judgment, then it is left to him generally to be close, and a dissembler: for where a man cannot choose or vary in particulars, there it is good to take the safest and wariest way in general, like the going softly, by one that cannot well see. Certainly, the ablest men that ever were, have had all an openness and frankness of dealing, and a name of certainty and veracity: but then they were like horses well managed, for they could tell passing well when to stop or turn; and at such times when they thought the case indeed required dissimulation, if then they used it, it came to pass that the former opinion spread abroad, of their

good faith and clearness of dealing, made them almost invisible.

There be three degrees of this hiding and veiling of a man's self; the first, closeness, reservation, and secrecy, when a man leaveth himself without observation, or without hold to be taken, what he is; the second dissimulation in the negative, when a man lets fall signs and arguments, that he is not that he is; and the third simulation in the affirmative, when a man industriously and expressly feigns and pretends to be that he is not.

For the first of these, secrecy, it is indeed the virtue of a confessor; and assuredly the secret man heareth many confessions, for who will open himself to a blab or babbler? But if a man be thought secret, it inviteth discovery, as the more close air sucketh in the more open; and, as in confession, the revealing is not for worldly use, but for the ease of a man's heart, so secret men come to the knowledge of many things in that kind; while men rather discharge their minds than impart their minds. In few words, mysteries are due to secrecy. Besides (to say truth) nakedness is uncomely, as well in mind as body; and it addeth no small reverence to men's manners and actions, if they be not altogether open. As for talkers, and futile persons, they are commonly vain and credulous withal: for he that talketh what he knoweth, will also talk what he knoweth not; therefore set it down, that a habit of secrecy is both politic and

moral: and in this part it is good, that a man's face give his tongue leave to speak; for the discovery of a man's self, by the tracts of his countenance, is a great weakness and betraying, by how much it is many times more marked and believed than a man's words.

For the second, which is dissimulation, it followeth many times upon secrecy by a necessity; so that he that will be secret must be a dissembler in some degree; for men are too cunning to suffer a man to keep an indifferent carriage between both, and to be secret, without swaying the balance on either side. They will so beset a man with questions, and draw him on, and pick it out of him, that, without an absurd silence, he must shew an inclination one way; or if he do not, they will gather as much by his silence as by his speech. As for equivocations, or oraculous speeches, they cannot hold out long: so that no man can be secret, except he give himself a little scope of dissimulation, which is, as it were, but the skirts, or train of secrecy.

But for the third degree, which is simulation and false profession, that I hold more culpable, and less politic, except it be in great and rare matters: and, therefore, a general custom of simulation (which is this last degree,) is a vice rising either of a natural falseness, or fearfulness, or of a mind that hath some main faults; which because a man must needs disguise, it maketh him practise simu-

lation in other things, lest his hand should be out of ure.

The advantages of simulation and dissimulation are three: first, to lay asleep opposition, and to surprise; for where a man's intentions are published, it is an alarum to call up all that are against them: the second is, to reserve to a man's self a fair retreat; for if a man engage himself by a manifest declaration, he must go through, or take a fall: the third is, the better to discover the mind of another; for to him that opens himself men will hardly shew themselves averse; but will fain let him go on, and turn their freedom of speech to freedom of thought; and therefore it is a good shrewd proverb of the Spaniard, "Tell a lie and find a troth;" as if there were no way of discovery but by simulation. There be also three disadvantages to set it even; the first, that simulation and dissimulation commonly carry with them a shew of fearfulness, which, in any business doth spoil the feathers of round flying up to the mark; the second, that it puzzleth and perplexeth the conceits of many, that, perhaps, would otherwise co-operate with him, and makes a man walk almost alone to his own ends; the third, and greatest, is, that it depriveth a man of one of the most principal instruments for action, which is trust and belief. The best composition and temperature is, to have openness in fame and opinion; secrecy in habit; dissimulation in seasonable use; and a power to feign if there be no remedy.

VII. OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN.

THE joys of parents are secret, and so are their griefs and fears; they cannot utter the one, nor they will not utter the other. Children sweeten labours, but they make misfortunes more bitter: they increase the cares of life, but they mitigate the remembrance of death. The perpetuity by generation is common to beasts; but memory, merit, and noble works, are proper to men: and surely a man shall see the noblest works and foundations have proceeded from childless men, which have sought to express the images of their minds, where those of their bodies have failed; so the care of posterity is most in them that have no posterity. They that are the first raisers of their houses are most indulgent towards their children, beholding them as the continuance, not only of their kind, but of their work; and so both children and creatures.

The difference in affection of parents towards their several children, is many times unequal, and sometimes unworthy, especially in the mother; as Solomon saith, "A wise son rejoiceth the father, but an ungracious son shames the mother." A man shall see, where there is a house full of children, one or two of the eldest respected, and the youngest made wantons; but in the midst some that are as it were forgotten, who, many times, nevertheless,

prove the best. The illiberality of parents, in allowance towards their children, is a harmful error, makes them base; acquaints them with shifts; makes them sort with mean company; and makes them surfeit more when they come to plenty: and therefore the proof is best when men keep their authority towards their children, but not their purse. Men have a foolish manner (both parents, and schoolmasters, and servants,) in creating and breeding an emulation between brothers during childhood, which many times sorteth to discord when they are men, and disturbeth families. The Italians make little difference between children and nephews, or near kinsfolks; but so they be of the lump, they care not, though they pass not through their own body; and, to say truth, in nature it is much a like matter; insomuch that we see a nephew sometimes resembleth an uncle, or a kinsman, more than his own parents, as the blood happens. Let parents choose betimes the vocations and courses they mean their children should take, for then they are most flexible; and let them not too much apply themselves to the disposition of their children, as thinking they will take best to that which they have most mind to. It is true, that if the affection, or aptness of the children be extraordinary, then it is good not to cross it; but generally the precept is good, "optimum elige, suave et facile illud faciet consuetudo."—Younger brothers are commonly fortunate, but seldom or never where the elder are disinherited.

VIII. OF MARRIAGE AND SINGLE LIFE.

HE that hath wife and children hath given hostages to fortune; for they are impedi-ments to great enterprises, either of virtue or mis-chief. Certainly the best works, and of greatest merit for the public, have proceeded from the un-married or childless men; which, both in affection and means, have married and endowed the public. Yet it were great reason that those that have chil-dren should have greatest care of future times, unto which they know they must transmit their dearest pledges. Some there are, who, though they lead a single life, yet their thoughts do end with them-selves, and account future times impertinences; nay, there are some other that account wife and children but as bills of charges; nay more, there are some foolish rich covetous men, that take a pride in having no children, because they may be thought so much the richer; for, perhaps, they have heard some talk, "Such an one is a great rich man," and another except to it, "Yea, but he hath a great charge of children;" as if it were an abatement to his riches: but the most ordinary cause of a single life is liberty, especially in certain self-pleasing and humorous minds, which are so sensible of every restraint, as they will go near to think their girdles

and garters to be bonds and shackles. Unmarried men are best friends, best masters, best servants; but not always best subjects; for they are light to run away; and almost all fugitives are of that condition. A single life doth well with churchmen, for charity will hardly water the ground where it must first fill a pool. It is indifferent for judges and magistrates; for if they be facile and corrupt, you shall have a servant five times worse than a wife. For soldiers, I find the generals commonly, in their hortatives, put men in mind of their wives and children; and I think the despising of marriage among the Turks maketh the vulgar soldier more base. Certainly wife and children are a kind of discipline of humanity; and single men, though they may be many times more charitable, because their means are less exhaust, yet, on the other side, they are more cruel and hardhearted (good to make severe inquisitors,) because their tenderness is not so oft called upon. Grave natures, led by custom, and therefore constant, are commonly loving husbands, as was said of Ulysses, "vetulam suam prætulit immortalitati." Chaste women are often proud and froward as presuming upon the merit of their chastity. It is one of the best bonds, both of chastity and obedience, in the wife, if she think her husband wise; which she will never do if she find him jealous. Wives are young men's mistresses, companions for middle age, and old men's nurses; so as a man may have a quarrel to marry when he

will: but yet he was reputed one of the wise men, that made answer to the question when a man should marry:—"A young man not yet, an elder man not at all." It is often seen, that bad husbands have very good wives; whether it be that it raiseth the price of their husband's kindness when it comes, or that the wives take a pride in their patience; but this never fails, if the bad husbands were of their own choosing, against their friends' consent, for then they will be sure to make good their own folly.

IX. OF ENVY.

THERE be none of the affections which have been noted to fascinate, or bewitch, but love and envy: they both have vehement wishes; they frame themselves readily into imaginations and suggestions; and they come easily into the eye, especially upon the presence of the objects, which are the points that conduce to fascination, if any such thing there be. We see, likewise, the scripture calleth envy an evil eye; and the astrologers call the evil influences of the stars evil aspects; so that still there seemeth to be acknowledged, in the act of envy, an ejaculation, or irradiation of the eye: nay, some have been so curious as to note, that the times, when the stroke or percussion of an envious eye doth most hurt, are, when the party

envied is beheld in glory or triumph; for that sets an edge upon envy: and besides, at such times, the spirits of the person envied do come forth most into the outward parts, and so meet the blow.

But leaving these curiosities (though not unworthy to be thought on in fit place), we will handle what persons are apt to envy others; what persons are most subject to be envied themselves: and what is the difference between public and private envy.

A man that hath no virtue in himself, ever envieth virtue in others; for men's minds will either feed upon their own good, or upon others' evil; and who wanteth the one will prey upon the other; and whoso is out of hope to attain to another's virtue, will seek to come at even hand, by depressing another's fortune.

A man that is busy and inquisitive is commonly envious; for to know much of other men's matters cannot be, because all that ado may concern his own estate; therefore it must needs be that he taketh a kind of play-pleasure in looking upon the fortunes of others: neither can he that mindeth but his own business find much matter for envy; for envy is a gadding passion, and walketh the streets, and doth not keep home: "Non est curiosus, quin idem sit malevolus."

Men of noble birth are noted to be envious towards new men when they rise; for the distance is altered; and it is like a deceit of the eye, that

when others come on they think themselves go back.

Deformed persons and eunuchs, and old men and bastards, are envious: for he that cannot possibly mend his own case, will do what he can to impair another's; except these defects light upon a very brave and heroical nature, which thinketh to make his natural wants part of his honour; in that it should be said, "That an eunuch, or a lame man, did such great matters;" affecting the honour of a miracle: as it was in Narses the eunuch, and Agesilaus and Tamerlane, that were lame men.

The same is the case of men who rise after calamities and misfortunes; for they are as men fallen out with the times, and think other men's harms a redemption of their own sufferings.

They that desire to excel in too many matters, out of levity and vain glory, are ever envious, for they cannot want work: it being impossible, but many, in some one of those things, should surpass them; which was the character of Adrian the emperor, that mortally envied poets and painters, and artificers in works, wherein he had a vein to excel.

Lastly, near kinsfolks and fellows in office, and those that have been bred together, are more apt to envy their equals when they are raised; for it doth upbraid unto them their own fortunes, and pointeth at them, and cometh oftener into their remembrance, and incurreth likewise more into the note of others; and envy ever redoubleth from

speech and fame. Cain's envy was the more vile and malignant towards his brother Abel, because when his sacrifice was better accepted, there was no body to look on. Thus much for those that are apt to envy.

Concerning those that are more or less subject to envy. First, persons of eminent virtue, when they are advanced, are less envied; for their fortune seemeth but due unto them; and no man envieth the payment of a debt, but rewards and liberality rather. Again, envy is ever joined with the comparing of a man's self; and where there is no comparison, no envy; and therefore kings are not envied but by kings. Nevertheless, it is to be noted, that unworthy persons are most envied at their first coming in, and afterwards overcome it better; whereas, contrariwise, persons of worth and merit are most envied when their fortune continueth long; for by that time, though their virtue be the same, yet it hath not the same lustre, for fresh men grow up that darken it.

Persons of noble blood are less envied in their rising; for it seemeth but right done to their birth: besides, there seemeth not much added to their fortune; and envy is as the sunbeams, that beat hotter upon a bank, or steep rising ground, than upon a flat; and, for the same reason, those that are advanced by degrees are less envied than those that are advanced suddenly, and "per saltum."

Those that have joined with their honour great

travels, cares, or perils, are less subject to envy; for men think that they earn their honours hardly, and pity them sometimes; and pity ever healeth envy: wherefore you shall observe, that the more deep and sober sort of politic persons, in their greatness, are ever bemoaning themselves what a life they lead, chanting a "quanta patimur;" not that they feel it so, but only to abate the edge of envy: but this is to be understood of business that is laid upon men, and not such as they call unto themselves; for nothing increaseth envy more than an unnecessary and ambitious engrossing of business; and nothing doth extinguish envy more than for a great person to preserve all other inferior officers in their full rights and pre-eminences of their places; for, by that means, there be so many screens between him and envy.

Above all, those are most subject to envy, which carry the greatness of their fortunes in an insolent and proud manner: being never well but while they are showing how great they are, either by outward pomp, or by triumphing over all opposition or competition: whereas wise men will rather do sacrifice to envy, in suffering themselves, sometimes of purpose, to be crossed and overborne in things that do not much concern them. Notwithstanding so much is true, that the carriage of greatness in a plain and open manner (so it be without arrogancy and vain glory), doth draw less envy than if it be in a more crafty and cunning fashion; for in that course a man doth but disavow fortune, and seemeth to be

conscious of his own want in worth, and doth but teach others to envy him.

Lastly, to conclude this part, as we said in the beginning that the act of envy had somewhat in it of witchcraft, so there is no other cure of envy but the cure of witchcraft; and that is, to remove the lot (as they call it), and to lay it upon another; for which purpose, the wiser sort of great persons bring in ever upon the stage somebody upon whom to derive the envy that would come upon themselves; sometimes upon ministers and servants, sometimes upon colleagues and associates, and the like; and, for that turn, there are never wanting some persons of violent and undertaking natures, who, so they may have power and business, will take it at any cost.

Now, to speak of public envy: there is yet some good in public envy, whereas in private there is none; for public envy is as an ostracism, that eclipseth men when they grow too great: and therefore it is a bridle also to great ones to keep them within bounds.

This envy, being in the Latin word "invidia," goeth in the modern languages by the name of discontentment; of which we shall speak in handling sedition. It is a disease in a state like to infection: for as infection spreadeth upon that which is sound, and tainteth it; so, when envy is gotten once into a state, it traduceth even the best actions thereof, and turneth them into an ill odour; and therefore there is little won by intermingling of plausible

actions; for that doth argue but a weakness and fear of envy, which hurteth so much the more, as it is likewise usual in infections, which, if you fear them, you call them upon you.

This public envy seemeth to beat chiefly upon principal officers or ministers, rather than upon kings and estates themselves. But this is a sure rule, that if the envy upon the minister be great, when the cause of it in him is small; or if the envy be general in a manner upon all the ministers of an estate, then the envy (though hidden) is truly upon the state itself. And so much of public envy or discontentment, and the difference thereof from private envy, which was handled in the first place.

We will add this in general, touching the affection of envy, that of all other affections it is the most importune and continual; for of other affections there is occasion given but now and then; and therefore it was well said, "Invidia festos dies non agit:" for it is ever working upon some or other. And it is also noted, that love and envy do make a man pine, which other affections do not, because they are not so continual. It is also the vilest affection, and the most depraved; for which cause it is the proper attribute of the devil, who is called "The envious man, that soweth tares amongst the wheat by night;" as it always cometh to pass, that envy worketh subtilly, and in the dark, and to the prejudice of good things, such as is the wheat.

X. OF LOVE.

THE stage is more beholding to love, than the life of man; for as to the stage, love is ever matter of comedies, and now and then of tragedies; but in life it doth much mischief; sometimes like a siren, sometimes like a fury. You may observe, that amongst all the great and worthy persons (whereof the memory remaineth, either ancient or recent,) there is not one that hath been transported to the mad degree of love, which shews, that great spirits and great business do keep out this weak passion. You must except, nevertheless, Marcus Antonius, the half partner of the empire of Rome, and Appius Claudius, the decemvir and lawgiver; whereof the former was indeed a voluptuous man, and inordinate; but the latter was an austere and wise man: and therefore it seems (though rarely,) that love can find entrance, not only into an open heart, but also into a heart well fortified, if watch be not well kept. It is a poor saying of Epicurus, "Satis magnum alter alteri theatrum sumus;" as if man, made for the contemplation of heaven, and all noble objects, should do nothing but kneel before a little idol, and make himself a subject, though not of the mouth (as beasts are,) yet of the eye, which was given him for higher purposes. It is a strange thing to note the excess of this passion,

and how it braves the nature and value of things by this, that the speaking in a perpetual hyperbole, is comely in nothing but in love: neither is it merely in the phrase; for whereas it hath been well said, "That the arch flatterer, with whom all the petty flatterers have intelligence, is a man's self;" certainly the lover is more; for there was never proud man thought so absurdly well of himself as the lover doth of the person loved; and therefore it was well said, "That it is impossible to love and to be wise." Neither doth this weakness appear to others only, and not to the party loved, but to the loved most of all, except the love be reciprocal; for it is a true rule, that love is ever rewarded, either with the reciprocal, or with an inward, and secret contempt; by how much the more men ought to beware of this passion, which loseth not only other things, but itself. As for the other losses the poet's relation doth well figure them: "That he that preferred Helena, quitted the gifts of Juno and Pallas; for whosoever esteemeth too much of amorous affection, quitteth both riches and wisdom." This passion hath his floods in the very times of weakness, which are, great prosperity and great adversity, though this latter hath been less observed; both which times kindle love, and make it more fervent, and therefore shew it to be the child of folly. They do best, who, if they cannot but admit love, yet make it keep quarter, and sever it wholly from their serious affairs and actions of life: for if it check once with

business, it troubleth men's fortunes, and maketh men that they can no ways be true to their own ends. I know not how, but martial men are given to love: I think it is, but as they are given to wine; for perils commonly ask to be paid in pleasures. There is in man's nature a secret inclination and motion towards love of others, which, if it be not spent upon some one or a few, doth naturally spread itself towards many, and maketh men become humane and charitable, as it is seen sometimes in friars. Nuptial love maketh mankind; friendly love perfecteth it; but wanton love corrupteth and embaseth it.

XI. OF GREAT PLACE.

MEN in great place are thrice servants; servants of the sovereign or state, servants of fame, and servants of business; so as they have no freedom, neither in their persons, nor in their actions, nor in their times. It is a strange desire to seek power and to lose liberty; or to seek power over others, and to lose power over a man's self. The rising unto place is laborious, and by pains men come to greater pains; and it is sometimes base, and by indignities men come to dignities. The standing is slippery, and the regress is either a downfall, or at least an eclipse, which is a me-

lancholy thing: "Cum non sis qui fueris, non esse cur velis vivere." Nay, retire men cannot when they would, neither will they when it were reason; but are impatient of privateness even in age and sickness, which require the shadow; like old townsmen, that will be still sitting at their street door, though thereby they offer age to scorn. Certainly great persons had need to borrow other men's opinions to think themselves happy; for if they judge by their own feeling, they cannot find it: but if they think with themselves what other men think of them, and that other men would fain be as they are, then they are happy as it were by report, when, perhaps, they find the contrary within: for they are the first that find their own griefs, though they be the last that find their own faults. Certainly men in great fortunes are strangers to themselves, and while they are in the puzzle of business they have no time to tend their health either of body or mind: "Illi mors gravis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi." In place there is license to do good and evil; whereof the latter is a curse: for in evil the best condition is not to will; the second not to can. But power to do good is the true and lawful end of aspiring; for good thoughts (though God accept them), yet towards men are little better than good dreams, except they be put in act; and that cannot be without power and place, as the vantage and commanding ground. Merit and good works is the end of man's

motion; and conscience of the same is the accomplishment of man's rest: for if a man can be partaker of God's theatre, he shall likewise be partaker of God's rest: "Et conversus Deus, ut aspiceret opera, quæ fecerunt manus suæ, vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis;" and then the sabbath. In the discharge of thy place set before thee the best examples; for imitation is a globe of precepts; and after a time set before thee thine own example; and examine thyself strictly whether thou didst not best at first. Neglect not also the examples of those that have carried themselves ill in the same place; not to set off thyself by taxing their memory, but to direct thyself what to avoid.—Reform, therefore, without bravery or scandal of former times and persons; but yet set it down to thyself, as well to create good precedents as to follow them. Reduce things to the first institution, and observe wherein and how they have degenerated; but yet ask counsel of both times; of the ancient time what is best; and of the latter time what is fittest. Seek to make thy course regular, that men may know beforehand what they may expect; but be not too positive and peremptory; and express thyself well when thou digressest from thy rule. Preserve the right of thy place, but stir not questions of jurisdiction; and rather assume thy right in silence, and "de facto," than voice it with claims and challenges. Preserve likewise the rights of inferior places; and think it more honour to direct

in chief than to be busy in all. Embrace and invite helps and advices touching the execution of thy place; and do not drive away such as bring thee information as meddlers, but accept of them in good part. The vices of authority are chiefly four; delays, corruption, roughness, and facility. For delays give easy access; keep times appointed; go through with that which is in hand, and interlace not business but of necessity. For corruption, do not only bind thine own hands or thy servant's hands from taking, but bind the hands of suitors also from offering; for integrity used doth the one; but integrity professed, and with a manifest detestation of bribery, doth the other; and avoid not only the fault, but the suspicion. Whosoever is found variable, and changeth manifestly without manifest cause, giveth suspicion of corruption: therefore, always when thou changest thine opinion or course, profess it plainly, and declare it, together with the reasons that move thee to change, and do not think to steal it. A servant or a favourite, if he be inward, and no other apparent cause of esteem, is commonly thought but a by-way to close corruption. For roughness, it is a needless cause of discontent: severity breedeth fear, but roughness breedeth hate. Even reproofs from authority ought to be grave, and not taunting. As for facility, it is worse than bribery; for bribes come but now and then; but if importunity or idle respects lead a man, he shall never be without; as

Solomon saith, "To respect persons is not good, for such a man will transgress for a piece of bread." It is most true that was anciently spoken. "A place sheweth the man; and it sheweth some to the better and some to the worse:" "omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset," saith Tacitus of Galba; but of Vespasian he saith, "solus imperantium, Vespasianus mutatus in melius;" though the one was meant of sufficiency, the other of manners and affection. It is an assured sign of a worthy and generous spirit, whom honour amends; for honour is, or should be, the place of virtue; and as in nature things move violently to their place, and calmly in their place, so virtue in ambition is violent, in authority settled and calm. All rising to great place is by a winding stair; and if there be factions, it is good to side a man's self whilst he is in the rising, and to balance himself when he is placed. Use the memory of thy predecessor fairly and tenderly; for if thou dost not, it is a debt will sure be paid when thou art gone. If thou have colleagues, respect them; and rather call them when they look not for it, than exclude them when they have reason to look to be called. Be not too sensible or too remembering of thy place in conversation and private answers to suitors; but let it rather be said, "When he sits in place he is another man."

XII. OF BOLDNESS.

IT is a trivial grammar-school text, but yet worthy a wise man's consideration. Question was asked of Demosthenes what was the chief part of an orator? he answered, action: what next? action: what next again? action. He said it that knew it best and had by nature himself no advantage in that he commended. A strange thing, that that part of an orator which is but superficial, and rather the virtue of a player, should be placed so high above those other noble parts of invention, elocution, and the rest; nay almost alone, as if it were all in all. But the reason is plain. There is in human nature generally more of the fool than of the wise; and therefore those faculties by which the foolish part of men's minds is taken, are most potent. Wonderful like is the case of boldness in civil business; what first? boldness: what second and third? boldness: And yet boldness is a child of ignorance and baseness, far inferior to other parts: but nevertheless, it doth fascinate, and bind hand and foot those that are either shallow in judgment or weak in courage, which are the greatest part: yea, and prevaileth with wise men at weak times: therefore we see it hath done wonders in popular states, but with senates and princes less; and more, ever upon the

first entrance of bold persons into action than soon after; for boldness is an ill keeper of promise. Surely as there are mountebanks for the natural body, so are there mountebanks for the politic body; men that undertake great cures, and perhaps have been lucky in two or three experiments, but want the grounds of science, and therefore cannot hold out: nay, you shall see a bold fellow many times do Mahomet's miracle. Mahomet made the people believe that he would call a hill to him, and from the top of it offer up his prayers for the observers of his law. The people assembled: Mahomet called the hill to come to him again and again; and when the hill stood still, he was never a whit abashed, but said, "If the hill will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet will go to the hill." So these men, when they have promised great matters and failed most shamefully, yet (if they have the perfection of boldness) they will but slight it over, and make a turn, and no more ado. Certainly to men of great judgment, bold persons are a sport to behold; nay, and to the vulgar also boldness hath somewhat of the ridiculous: for if absurdity be the subject of laughter, doubt you not but great boldness is seldom without some absurdity; especially it is a sport to see when a bold fellow is out of countenance, for that puts his face into a most shrunken and wooden posture as needs it must; for in bashfulness the spirits do a little go and come; but with bold men, upon like occasion, they stand at a stay; like a stale

at chess, where it is no mate, but yet the game cannot stir: but this last were fitter for a satire than for a serious observation. This is well to be weighed, that boldness is ever blind; for it seeth not dangers and inconveniences: therefore it is ill in counsel, good in execution; so that the right use of bold persons is, that they never command in chief, but be seconds and under the direction of others; for in counsel it is good to see dangers, and in execution not to see them except they be very great.

XIII. OF GOODNESS AND GOODNESS OF NATURE.

I TAKE goodness in this sense, the affecting of the weal of men, which is that the Grecians call Philanthropia; and the word humanity (as it is used), is a little too light to express it. Goodness I call the habit, and goodness of nature the inclination. This of all virtues and dignities of the mind, is the greatest, being the character of the Deity: and without it man is a busy, mischievous, wretched thing, no better than a kind of vermin. Goodness answers to the theological virtue charity, and admits no excess but error. The desire of power in excess caused the angels to fall; the desire of knowledge in excess caused man to fall: but in charity there is no excess, neither can angel or

man come in danger by it. The inclination to goodness is imprinted deeply in the nature of man; insomuch, that if it issue not towards men, it will take unto other living creatures; as it is seen in the Turks, a cruel people, who nevertheless are kind to beasts, and give alms to dogs and birds; insomuch, as Busbechius reporteth, a Christian boy in Constantinople had like to have been stoned for gagging in a waggishness a long-billed fowl. Errors indeed, in this virtue, of goodness or charity, may be committed. The Italians have an ungracious proverb, "Tanto buon che val niente;" "So good, that he is good for nothing:" and one of the doctors of Italy, Nicholas Machiavel, had the confidence to put in writing, almost in plain terms, "That the Christian faith had given up good men in prey to those that are tyrannical and unjust;" which he spake, because, indeed, there was never law or sect or opinion did so much magnify goodness as the Christian religion doth: therefore, to avoid the scandal and the danger both, it is good to take knowledge of the errors of a habit so excellent. Seek the good of other men, but be not in bondage to their faces or fancies; for that is but facility or softness, which taketh an honest mind prisoner. Neither give thou Æsop's cock a gem, who would be better pleased and happier if he had had a barley-corn. The example of God teacheth the lesson truly; "He sendeth his rain, and maketh his sun to shine upon the just and the unjust;"

but he doth not rain wealth, nor shine honour and virtues upon men equally: common benefits are to be communicate with all, but peculiar benefits with choice. And beware how in making the portraiture thou breakest the pattern: for divinity maketh the love of ourselves the pattern: the love of our neighbours but the portraiture: "Sell all thou hast and give it to the poor, and follow me:" but sell not all thou hast except thou come and follow me; that is, except thou have a vocation wherein thou mayest do as much good with little means as with great; for otherwise, in feeding the streams, thou driest the fountain. Neither is there only a habit of goodness directed by right reason; but there is in some men, even in nature, a disposition towards it; as, on the other side, there is a natural malignity: for there be that in their nature do not affect the good of others. The lighter sort of malignity turneth but to a crossness, or frowardness, or aptness to oppose, or difficileness, or the like; but the deeper sort to envy, and mere mischief. Such men in other men's calamities, are, as it were, in season, and are ever on the loading part: not so good as the dogs that licked Lazarus' sores, but like flies that are still buzzing upon any thing that is raw; misanthropi, that make it their practice to bring men to the bough, and yet have never a tree for the purpose in their gardens, as Timon had: such dispositions are the very errors of human nature, and yet they are the fittest timber to make great

politics of; like to knee timber, that is good for ships that are ordained to be tossed, but not for building houses that shall stand firm. The parts and signs of goodness are many. If a man be gracious and courteous to strangers, it shows he is a citizen of the world, and that his heart is no island cut off from other lands, but a continent that joins to them: if he be compassionate towards the afflictions of others, it shows that his heart is like the noble tree that is wounded itself when it gives the balm: if he easily pardons and remits offences, it shows that his mind is planted above injuries, so that he cannot be shot: if he be thankful for small benefits, it shows that he weighs men's minds, and not their trash: but, above all, if he have St. Paul's perfection, that he would wish to be an anathema from Christ, for the salvation of his brethren, it shows much of a divine nature, and a kind of conformity with Christ himself.

XIV. OF NOBILITY.

WE will speak of nobility first as a portion of an estate, then as a condition of particular persons. A monarchy, where there is no nobility at all, is ever a pure and absolute tyranny, as that of the Turks; for nobility attempers sovereignty, and draws the eyes of the people somewhat aside

from the line royal: but for democracies they need it not; and they are commonly more quiet and less subject to sedition, than where there are stirps of nobles; for men's eyes are upon the business, and not upon the persons; or if upon the persons, it is for the business sake, as fittest, and not for flags and pedigree. We see the Switzers last well, notwithstanding their diversity of religion and of cantons; for utility is their bond, and not respects. The united provinces of the Low Countries in their government excel; for where there is an equality the consultations are more indifferent, and the payments and tributes more cheerful. A great and potent nobility addeth majesty to a monarch, but diminisheth power, and putteth life and spirit into the people, but presseth their fortune. It is well when nobles are not too great for sovereignty nor for justice; and yet maintained in that height, as the insolency of inferiors may be broken upon them before it come on too fast upon the majesty of kings. A numerous nobility causeth poverty and inconvenience in a state, for it is a surcharge of expense; and besides, it being of necessity that many of the nobility fall in time to be weak in fortune, it maketh a kind of disproportion between honour and means.

As for nobility in particular persons, it is a reverend thing to see an ancient castle or building not in decay, or to see a fair timber tree sound and perfect; how much more to behold an ancient no-

ble family, which hath stood against the waves and weathers of time? for new nobility is but the act of power, but ancient nobility is the act of time. Those that are first raised to nobility are commonly more virtuous, but less innocent, than their descendants; for there is rarely any rising but by a commixture of good and evil arts; but it is reason the memory of their virtues remain to their posterity, and their faults die with themselves. Nobility of birth commonly abateth industry; and he that is not industrious, envieth him that is; besides, noble persons cannot go much higher; and he that standeth at a stay when others rise, can hardly avoid motions of envy. On the other side, nobility extinguisheth the passive envy from others towards them, because they are in possession of honour. Certainly, kings that have able men of their nobility shall find ease in employing them, and a better slide into their business; for people naturally bend to them as born in some sort to command.

XV. OF SEDITIONS AND TROUBLES.

SHEPHERDS of people had need know the calendars of tempests in state, which are commonly greatest when things grow to equality; as natural tempests are greatest about the equinoctia; and as there are certain hollow blasts of wind and

secret swellings of seas before a tempest, so are there in states:

—— "Ille etiam cæcos instare tumultus
Sæpe monet, fraudesque et operta tumescere bella."

Libels and licentious discourses against the state, when they are frequent and open; and in like sort false news often running up and down, to the disadvantage of the state, and hastily embraced, are amongst the signs of troubles. Virgil, giving the pedigree of Fame, saith she was sister to the giants:

"Illam Terra parens, irâ irritata Deorum,
Extremam (ut perhibent) Cœo Enceladoque sororem
Progenuit."

As if fames were the relics of seditions past; but they are no less indeed the preludes of seditions to come. Howsoever he noteth it right, that seditious tumults and seditious fames differ no more but as brother and sister, masculine and feminine; especially if it come to that, that the best actions of a state, and the most plausible, and which ought to give greatest contentment, are taken in ill sense, and traduced: for that shews the envy great, as Tacitus saith, "conflata, magna invidia, seu bene, seu male, gesta premunt." Neither doth it follow, that because these fames are a sign of troubles, that the suppressing of them with too much severity should be a remedy of troubles; for the despising of them many times checks them best, and the going about to stop them doth but make a wonder long lived. Also that kind of obedience, which

Tacitus speaketh of, is to be held suspected: "Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mallent mandata imperantium interpretari, quam exequi;" disputing excusing, cavilling upon mandates and directions, is a kind of shaking off the yoke, and assay of disobedience; especially if in those disputings they which are for the direction speak fearfully and tenderly, and those that are against it audaciously.

Also, as Machiavel noteth well, when princes, that ought to be common parents, make themselves as a party, and lean to a side; it is, as a boat that is overthrown by uneven weight on the one side: as was well seen in the time of Henry the Third of France; for first himself entered league for the extirpation of the Protestants, and presently after the same league was turned upon himself: for when the authority of princes is made but an accessary to a cause, and that there be other bands that tie faster than the band of sovereignty, kings begin to be put almost out of possession.

Also, when discords, and quarrels, and factions, are carried openly and audaciously, it is a sign the reverence of government is lost; for the motions of the greatest persons in a government ought to be as the motions of the planets under "primum mobile," (according to the old opinion,) which is, that every of them is carried swiftly by the highest motion, and softly in their own motion; and, therefore, when great ones in their own particular motion move violently, and as Tacitus expresseth it

well, "Liberius quam ut imperantium meminissent," it is a sign the orbs are out of frame: for reverence is that wherewith princes are girt from God, who threateneth the dissolving thereof; "solvam cingula regum."

So when any of the four pillars of government are mainly shaken or weakened (which are religion, justice, counsel, and treasure), men had need to pray for fair weather. But let us pass from this part of predictions (concerning which, nevertheless, more light may be taken from that which followeth), and let us speak first of the materials of seditions, then of the motives of them, and thirdly of the remedies.

Concerning the materials of seditions, it is a thing well to be considered; for the surest way to prevent seditions (if the times do bear it), is to take away the matter of them; for if there be fuel prepared, it is hard to tell whence the spark shall come that shall set it on fire. The matter of seditions is of two kinds, much poverty and much discontentment. It is certain, so many overthrown estates, so many votes for troubles. Lucan noteth well the state of Rome before the civil war,

> "Hinc usura vorax, rapidumque in tempore fœnus,
> Hinc concussa fides, et multis utile bellum."

This same "multis utile bellum," is an assured and infallible sign of a state disposed to seditions and troubles; and if this poverty and broken estate

in the better sort be joined with a want and necessity in the mean people, the danger is imminent and great: for the rebellions of the belly are the worst. As for discontentments, they are in the politic body like to humours in the natural, which are apt to gather a preternatural heat and to inflame; and let no prince measure the danger of them by this, whether they be just or unjust: for that were to imagine people to be too reasonable, who do often spurn at their own good; nor yet by this, whether the griefs whereupon they rise be in fact great or small; for they are the most dangerous discontentments where the fear is greater than the feeling: "Dolendi modus, timendi non item:" besides, in great oppressions, the same things that provoke the patience, do withal mate the courage; but in fears it is not so; neither let any prince, or state, be secure concerning discontentments because they have been often, or have been long, and yet no peril hath ensued: for as it is true that every vapour, or fume, doth not turn into a storm, so it is nevertheless true, that storms, though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at last; and, as the Spanish proverb noteth well, "The cord breaketh at the last by the weakest pull."

The causes and motives of seditions are, innovation in religion, taxes, alteration of laws and customs, breaking of privileges, general oppression, advancement of unworthy persons, strangers, dearths, disbanded soldiers, factions grown despe-

rate; and whatsoever in offending people joineth and knitteth them in a common cause.

For the remedies, there may be some general preservatives, whereof we will speak: as for the just cure it must answer to the particular disease; and so be left to counsel rather than rule.

The first remedy, or prevention, is to remove, by all means possible, that material cause of sedition whereof we spake, which is, want and poverty in the estate; to which purpose serveth the opening and well-balancing of trade; the cherishing of manufactures; the banishing of idleness; the repressing of waste and excess, by sumptuary laws; the improvement and husbanding of the soil; the regulating of prices of things vendible; the moderating of taxes and tributes, and the like. Generally, it is to be foreseen that the population of a kingdom (especially if it be not mown down by wars,) do not exceed the stock of the kingdom which should maintain them: neither is the population to be reckoned only by number; for a smaller number that spend more and earn less, do wear out an estate sooner than a greater number that live lower and gather more: therefore the multiplying of nobility, and other degrees of quality, in an over proportion to the common people, doth speedily bring a state to necessity: and so doth likewise an overgrown clergy, for they bring nothing to the stock; and, in like manner, when more are bred scholars than preferments can take off.

It is likewise to be remembered, that, forasmuch as the increase of any estate must be upon the foreigner (for whatsoever is somewhere gotten, is somewhere lost,) there be but three things which one nation selleth unto another; the commodity, as nature yieldeth it; the manufacture; and the vecture, or carriage; so that, if these three wheels go, wealth will flow as in a spring tide. And it cometh many times to pass, that "materiam superabit opus," that the work and carriage is more worth than the material, and enricheth a state more: as is notably seen in the Low Countrymen, who have the best mines above ground in the world.

Above all things, good policy is to be used, that the treasure and monies in a state be not gathered into few hands; for, otherwise, a state may have a great stock, and yet starve: and money is like muck, not good except it be spread. This is done chiefly by suppressing, or, at the least, keeping a strait hand upon the devouring trades of usury, engrossing, great pasturages, and the like.

For removing discontentments, or, at least, the danger of them, there is in every state (as we know) two portions of subjects, the nobles and the commonality. When one of these is discontent, the danger is not great; for common people are of slow motion, if they be not excited by the greater sort; and the greater sort are of small strength, except the multitude be apt and ready to move of

themselves: then is the danger, when the greater sort do but wait for the troubling of the waters amongst the meaner, that then they may declare themselves. The poets feign that the rest of the gods would have bound Jupiter, which he hearing of, by the counsel of Pallas, sent for Briareus, with his hundred hands, to come in to his aid: an emblem, no doubt, to show how safe it is for monarchs to make sure of the good-will of common people.

To give moderate liberty for griefs and discontentments to evaporate (so it be without too great insolency or bravery,) is a safe way: for he that turneth the humours back, and maketh the wound bleed inwards, endangereth malign ulcers and pernicious imposthumations.

The part of Epimetheus might well become Prometheus, in the case of discontentments, for there is not a better provision against them. Epimetheus, when griefs and evils flew abroad, at last shut the lid, and kept hope in the bottom of the vessel. Certainly, the politic and artificial nourishing and entertaining of hopes; and carrying men from hopes to hopes, is one of the best antidotes against the poison of discontentments: and it is a certain sign of a wise government and proceeding, when it can hold men's hearts by hopes, when it cannot by satisfaction; and when it can handle things in such manner as no evil shall appear so peremptory but that it hath some outlet of hope: which is the less hard to do; because both particular per-

sons and factions are apt enough to flatter themselves, or at least to brave that, they believe not.

Also the foresight and prevention, that there be no likely or fit head whereunto discontented persons may resort, and under whom they may join, is a known, but an excellent point of caution. I understand a fit head to be one that hath greatness and reputation, that hath confidence with the discontented party, and upon whom they turn their eyes, and that is thought discontented in his own particular: which kind of persons are either to be won and reconciled to the state, and that in a fast and true manner; or to be fronted with some other of the same party that may oppose them, and so divide the reputation. Generally the dividing and breaking of all factions and combinations that are adverse to the state, and setting them at distance, or, at least, distrust amongst themselves, is not one of the worst remedies; for it is a desperate case, if those that hold with the proceeding of the state be full of discord and faction, and those that are against it be entire and united.

I have noted, that some witty and sharp speeches, which have fallen from princes, have given fire to seditions. Cæsar did himself infinite hurt in that speech, "Sylla nescivit literas, non potuit dictare;" for it did utterly cut off that hope which men had entertained, that he would at one time or other give over his dictatorship. Galba undid himself by that speech, "legi a se militem, non emi;" for

it put the soldiers out of hope of the donative. Probus, likewise, by that speech, "si vixero non opus erit amplius Romano imperio militibus;" a speech of great despair for the soldiers, and many the like. Surely princes had need in tender matters and ticklish times, to beware what they say, especially in these short speeches, which fly abroad like darts, and are thought to be shot out of their secret intentions; for as for large discourses, they are flat things, and not so much noted.

Lastly, let princes, against all events, not be without some great person, one or rather more, of military valour, near unto them, for the repressing of seditions in their beginnings; for without that, there useth to be more trepidation in court upon the first breaking out of troubles, than were fit; and the state runneth the danger of that which Tacitus saith, "Atque is habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur:" but let such military persons be assured, and well reputed of, rather than factious and popular; holding also good correspondence with the other great men in the state, or else the remedy is worse than the disease.

XVI. OF ATHEISM.

I HAD rather believe all the fables in the legend, and the Talmud, and the Alcoran, than that this universal frame is without a mind; and, therefore, God never wrought miracle to convince atheism, because his ordinary works convince it. It is true, that a little philosophy inclineth man's mind to atheism, but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion: for while the mind of man looketh upon second causes scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and go no further; but when it beholdeth the chain of them confederate, and linked together, it must needs fly to Providence and Deity: nay, even that school which is most accused of atheism doth most demonstrate religion: that is the school of Leucippus, and Democritus, and Epicurus: for it is a thousand times more credible that four mutable elements, and one immutable fifth essence, duly and eternally placed, need no God, than that an army of infinite small portions, or seeds unplaced, should have produced this order and beauty without a divine marshal. The scripture saith, "The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God;" it is not said, "The fool hath thought in his heart;" so as he rather saith it by rote to himself, as that he would have, than that he can

thoroughly believe it, or be persuaded of it; for none deny there is a God, but those for whom it maketh that there were no God. It appeareth in nothing more, that atheism is rather in the lip than in the heart of man, than by this, that atheists will ever be talking of that their opinion, as if they fainted in it within themselves, and would be glad to be strengthened by the consent of others; nay more, you shall have atheists strive to get disciples, as it fareth with other sects; and, which is most of all, you shall have of them that will suffer for atheism, and not recant; whereas, if they did truly think that there were no such thing as God, why should they trouble themselves? Epicurus is charged, that he did but dissemble for his credit's sake, when he affirmed there were blessed natures, but such as enjoyed themselves without having respect to the government of the world; wherein they say he did temporize, though in secret he thought there was no God: but certainly he is traduced, for his words are noble and divine: "Non Deos vulgi negare profanum; sed vulgi opiniones Diis applicare profanum." Plato could have said no more; and, although he had the confidence to deny the administration, he had not the power to deny the nature. The Indians of the west have names for their particular gods, though they have no name for God: as if the heathens should have had the names Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, &c. but not the word Deus, which shows that even those barbarous people have

the notion, though they have not the latitude and extent of it; so that against atheists the very savages take part with the very subtlest philosophers. The contemplative atheist is rare, a Diagoras, a Bion, a Lucian perhaps, and some others; and yet they seem to be more than they are; for that all that impugn a received religion, or superstition, are, by the adverse part, branded with the name of atheists: but the great atheists indeed are hypocrites, which are ever handling holy things but without feeling; so as they must needs be cauterized in the end. The causes of atheism are, divisions in religion, if they be many; for any one main division addeth zeal to both sides, but many divisions introduce atheism: another is, scandal of priests, when it is come to that which St. Bernard saith, "Non est jam dicere, ut populus, sic sacerdos; quia nec sic populus, ut sacerdos:" a third is, custom of profane scoffing in holy matters, which doth by little and little deface the reverence of religion; and, lastly, learned times, specially with peace and prosperity; for troubles and adversities do more bow men's minds to religion. They that deny a God destroy man's nobility; for certainly man is of kin to the beast by his body; and, if he be not of kin to God by his spirit, he is a base and ignoble creature. It destroys likewise magnanimity, and the raising of human nature; for take an example of a dog, and mark what a generosity and courage he will put on when he finds himself

maintained by a man, who to him is instead of a God, or "melior natura;" which courage is manifestly such as that creature, without that confidence of a better nature than his own, could never attain. So man, when he resteth and assureth himself upon divine protection and favour, gathereth a force and faith, which human nature in itself could not obtain; therefore, as atheism is in all respects hateful, so in this, that it depriveth human nature of the means to exalt itself above human frailty. As it is in particular persons, so it is in nations: never was there such a state for magnanimity as Rome; of this state hear what Cicero saith, "Quam volumus, licet, Patres conscripti, nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso hujus gentis et terræ domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipsos et Latinos; sed pietate, ac religione, atque ac una sapientia, quod Deorum immortalium numine omnia regi, gubernarique perspeximus omnes, gentes nationesque superavimus."

XVII. OF SUPERSTITION.

IT were better to have no opinion of God at all, than such an opinion as is unworthy of him; for the one is unbelief, the other is contumely: and certainly superstition is the reproach of the Deity.

Plutarch saith well to that purpose: "Surely," saith he, "I had rather a great deal men should say there was no such man at all as Plutarch, than that they should say that there was one Plutarch, that would eat his children as soon as they were born;" as the poets speak of Saturn: and, as the contumely is greater towards God, so the danger is greater towards men. Atheism leaves a man to sense, to philosophy, to natural piety, to laws, to reputation: all which may be guides to an outward moral virtue, though religion were not; but superstition dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute monarchy in the minds of men: therefore atheism did never perturb states; for it makes men wary of themselves, as looking no further, and we see the times inclined to atheism (as the time of Augustus Cæsar) were civil times; but superstition hath been the confusion of many states, and bringeth in a new "primum mobile," that ravisheth all the spheres of government. The master of superstition is the people, and in all superstition wise men follow fools: and arguments are fitted to practice in a reversed order. It was gravely said, by some of the prelates in the council of Trent, where the doctrine of the schoolmen bare great sway, that the schoolmen were like astronomers, which did feign eccentrics and epicycles, and such engines of orbs to save the phænomena, though they knew there were no such things; and, in like manner, that the schoolmen had framed a number of subtle

and intricate axioms and theorems, to save the practice of the church. The causes of superstition are, pleasing and sensual rites and ceremonies; excess of outward and pharisaical holiness; over great reverence of traditions, which cannot but load the church; the stratagems of prelates for their own ambition and lucre; the favouring too much of good intentions, which openeth the gate to conceits and novelties; the taking an aim at divine matters by human, which cannot but breed mixture of imaginations: and, lastly, barbarous times, especially joined with calamities and disasters. Superstition, without a veil, is a deformed thing; for as it addeth deformity to an ape to be so like a man, so the similitude of superstition to religion makes it the more deformed: and, as wholesome meat corrupteth to little worms, so good forms and orders corrupt into a number of petty observances. There is a superstition in avoiding superstition, when men think to do best if they go furthest from the superstition formerly received; therefore care would be had that (as it fareth in ill purgings) the good be not taken away with the bad which commonly is done when the people is the reformer.

XVIII. OF TRAVEL.

TRAVEL, in the younger sort, is a part of education; in the elder, a part of experience. He that travelleth into a country, before he hath some entrance into the language, goeth to school, and not to travel. That young men travel under some tutor, or grave servant, I allow well; so that he be such a one that hath the language, and hath been in the country before; whereby he may be able to tell them what things are worthy to be seen in the country where they go, what acquaintances they are to seek, what exercises or discipline the place yieldeth; for else young men shall go hooded, and look abroad little. It is a strange thing that, in sea voyages, where there is nothing to be seen but sky and sea, men should make diaries; but in land travel, wherein so much is to be observed, for the most part they omit it; as if chance were fitter to be registered than observation: let diaries, therefore, be brought in use. The things to be seen and observed are, the courts of princes, especially when they give audience to ambassadors; the courts of justice, while they sit and hear causes; and so of consistories ecclesiastic; the churches and monasteries, with the monuments which are therein extant; the walls and

fortifications of cities and towns; and so the havens and harbours, antiquities and ruins, libraries, colleges, disputations, and lectures, where any are; shipping and navies; houses and gardens of state and pleasure, near great cities; armories, arsenals, magazines, exchanges, burses, warehouses, exercises of horsemanship, fencing, training of soldiers, and the like: comedies, such whereunto the better sort of persons do resort; treasuries of jewels and robes; cabinets and rarities; and, to conclude, whatsoever, is memorable in the places where they go: after all which the tutors or servants ought to make diligent inquiry. As for triumphs, masks, feasts, weddings, funerals, capital executions, and such shows, men need not to be put in mind of them: yet are they not to be neglected. If you will have a young man to put his travel into a little room, and in short time to gather much, this you must do: first, as was said, he must have some entrance into the language before he goeth; then he must have such a servant, or tutor, as knoweth the country, as was likewise said: let him carry with him also some card, or book, describing the country where he travelleth, which will be a good key to his inquiry; let him keep also a diary; let him not stay long in one city or town, more or less as the place deserveth, but not long; nay, when he stayeth in one city or town, let him change his lodging from one end and part of the town to another, which is a great adamant of acquaintance;

let him sequester himself from the company of his countrymen, and diet in such places where there is good company of the nation where he travelleth: let him, upon his removes from one place to another, procure recommendation to some person of quality residing in the place whither he removeth, that he may use his favour in those things he desireth to see or know: thus he may abridge his travel with much profit. As for the acquaintance which is to be sought in travel, that which is most of all profitable, is acquaintance with the secretaries and employed men of ambassadors; for so in travelling in one country he shall suck the experience of many: let him also see and visit eminent persons in all kinds, which are of great name abroad, that he may be able to tell how the life agreeth with the fame; For quarrels, they are with care and discretion to be avoided; they are commonly for mistresses, healths, place, and words; and let a man beware how he keepeth company with choleric and quarrelsome persons, for they will engage him into their own quarrels. When a traveller returneth home, let him not leave the countries where he hath travelled altogether behind him; but maintain a correspondence by letters with those of his acquaintance which are of most worth; and let his travel appear rather in his discourse than in his apparel or gesture; and in his discourse let him be rather advised in his answers, than forward to tell stories: and let it

appear that he doth not change his country manners for those of foreign parts; but only prick in some flowers of that he hath learned abroad into the customs of his own country.

XIX. OF EMPIRE.

IT is a miserable state of mind to have few things to desire, and many things to fear; and yet that commonly is the case of kings, who being at the highest, want matter of desire, which makes their minds more languishing; and have many representations of perils and shadows, which makes their minds the less clear: and this is one reason also of that effect which the scripture speaketh of, "That the king's heart is inscrutable:" for multitude of jealousies, and lack of some predominant desire, that should marshal and put in order all the rest, maketh any man's heart hard to find or sound. Hence it comes likewise, that princes many times make themselves desires, and set their hearts upon toys; sometimes upon a building; sometimes upon erecting of an order; sometimes upon the advancing of a person; sometimes upon obtaining excellency in some art, or feat of the hand: as Nero for playing on the harp; Domitian for certainty of the hand with the arrow; Commodus for playing at fence; Caracalla for

driving chariots, and the like. This seemeth incredible unto those that know not the principle, that the mind of man is more cheered and refreshed by profiting in small things, than by standing at a stay in great. We see also that kings that have been fortunate conquerors in their first years, it being not possible for them to go forward infinitely, but that they must have some check or arrest in their fortunes, turn in their latter years to be superstitious and melancholy; as did Alexander the Great, Dioclesian, and in our memory Charles the Fifth, and others: for he that is used to go forward, and findeth a stop, falleth out of his own favour, and is not the thing he was.

To speak now of the true temper of empire, it is a thing rare and hard to keep; for both temper and distemper consist of contraries: but it is one thing to mingle contraries, another to interchange them. The answer of Apollonius to Vespasian is full of excellent instruction. Vespasian asked him, what was Nero's overthrow? he answered, Nero could touch and tune the harp well, but in government sometimes he used to wind the pins too high, sometimes to let them down too low; and certain it is, that nothing destroyeth authority so much as the unequal and untimely interchange of power pressed too far, and relaxed too much.

This is true, that the wisdom of all these latter times in princes' affairs, is rather fine deliveries, and shiftings of dangers and mischiefs, when they

are near, than solid and grounded courses to keep them aloof: but this is but to try masteries with fortune; and let men beware how they neglect and suffer matter of trouble to be prepared; for no man can forbid the spark, nor tell whence it may come. The difficulties in princes' business are many and great; but the greatest difficulty is often in their own mind; for it is common with princes (saith Tacitus) to will contradictories; "Sunt plerumque regum voluntates vehementes, et inter se contrariæ;" for it is the solecism of power to think to command the end, and yet not to endure the mean.

Kings have to deal with their neighbours, their wives, their children, their prelates or clergy, their nobles, their second nobles or gentlemen, their merchants, their commons, and their men of war; and from all these arise dangers, if care and circumspection be not used.

First, for their neighbours, there can no general rule be given (the occasions are so variable,) save one which ever holdeth; which is, that princes do keep due sentinel, that none of their neighbours do overgrow so, (by increase of territory, by embracing of trade, by approaches, or the like,) as they become more able to annoy them than they were; and this is generally the work of standing counsels to foresee and to hinder it. During that triumvirate of kings, king Henry the Eighth of England, Francis the First, king of France, and Charles the

Fifth emperor, there was such a watch kept that none of the three could win a palm of ground, but the other two would straightways balance it, either by confederation, or, if need were, by a war; and would not in any wise take up peace at interest: and the like was done by that league (which Guicciardini saith was the security of Italy,) made between Ferdinando, king of Naples, Lorenzius Medicis, and Ludovicus Sforsa, potentates, the one of Florence, the other of Milan. Neither is the opinion of some of the schoolmen to be received, that a war cannot justly be made, but upon a precedent injury or provocation; for there is no question, but a just fear of an imminent danger though there be no blow given, is a lawful cause of a war.

For their wives, there are cruel examples of them. Livia is infamed for the poisoning of her husband; Roxalana, Solyman's wife, was the destruction of that renowned prince, Sultan Mustapha, and otherwise troubled his house and succession; Edward the Second of England's queen had the principal hand in the deposing and murder of her husband. This kind of danger is then to be feared chiefly when the wives have plots for the raising of their own children, or else that they be advoutresses.

For their children, the tragedies likewise of dangers from them have been many; and generally the entering of fathers into suspicion of their children hath been ever unfortunate. The destruction

of Mustapha (that we named before) was so fatal to Solyman's line, as the succession of the Turks from Solyman until this day is suspected to be untrue, and of strange blood; for that Selymus the Second was thought to be supposititious. The destruction of Crispus, a young prince of rare towardness, by Constantinus the Great, his father, was in like manner fatal to his house, for both Constantinus and Constance, his sons, died violent deaths; and Constantius, his other son, did little better, who died indeed of sickness, but after that Julianus had taken arms against him. The destruction of Demetrius, son to Philip the Second of Macedon, turned upon the father, who died of repentance: and many like examples there are, but few or none where the fathers had good by such distrust, except it were where the sons were up in open arms against them; as was Selymus the First against Bajazet, and the three sons of Henry the Second, king of England.

For their prelates, when they are proud and great, there is also danger from them; as it was in the times of Anselmus and Thomas Becket, archbishops of Canterbury, who with their crosiers did almost try it with the king's sword; and yet they had to deal with stout and haughty kings, William Rufus, Henry the First, and Henry the Second. The danger is not from that state, but where it hath a dependence of foreign authority;

or where the churchmen come in and are elected, not by the collation of the king, or particular patrons, but by the people.

For their nobles, to keep them at a distance it is not amiss; but to depress them may make a king more absolute, but less safe, and less able to perform any thing that he desires. I have noted it in my History of king Henry the Seventh of England, who depressed his nobility, whereupon it came to pass that his times were full of difficulties and troubles; for the nobility, though they continued loyal unto him, yet did they not co-operate with him in his business; so that in effect he was fain to do all things himself.

For their second nobles, there is not much danger from them, being a body dispersed: they may sometimes discourse high, but that doth little hurt: besides, they are a counterpoise to the higher nobility, that they grow not too potent; and, lastly, being the most immediate in authority with the common people, they do best temper popular commotions.

For their merchants, they are "vena porta;" and if they flourish not, a kingdom may have good limbs, but will have empty veins, and nourish little. Taxes and imposts upon them do seldom good to the king's revenue, for that which he wins in the hundred, he loseth in the shire; the particular rates being increased, but the total bulk of trading rather decreased.

For their commons, there is little danger from them, except it be where they have great and potent heads; or where you meddle with the point of religion, or their customs, or means of life.

For their men of war, it is a dangerous state where they live and remain in a body, and are used to donatives, whereof we see examples in the janizaries and pretorian bands of Rome; but trainings of men, and arming them in several places, and under several commanders, and without donatives, are things of defence, and no danger.

Princes are like to heavenly bodies, which cause good or evil times; and which have much veneration, but no rest. All precepts concerning kings are in effect comprehended in these two remembrances, "memento quod es homo;" and "memento quod es Deus," or "vice Dei;" the one bridleth their power, and the other their will.

XX. OF COUNSEL.

THE greatest trust between man and man is the trust of giving counsel; for in other confidences men commit the parts of life, their lands, their goods, their children, their credit, some particular affair; but to such as they make their counsellors they commit the whole: by how much the more they are obliged to all faith and integrity.

The wisest princes need not think it any diminution to their greatness, or derogation to their sufficiency, to rely upon counsel. God himself is not without, but hath made it one of the great names of his blessed Son, "The Counsellor." Solomon hath pronounced that, "in counsel is stability." Things will have their first or second agitation: if they be not tossed upon the arguments of counsel, they will be tossed upon the waves of fortune; and be full of inconstancy, doing and undoing, like the reeling of a drunken man. Solomon's son found the force of counsel, as his father saw the necessity of it: for the beloved kingdom of God was first rent and broken by ill counsel; upon which counsel there are set for our instruction the two marks whereby bad counsel is for ever best discerned, that it was young counsel for the persons, and violent counsel for the matter.

The ancient times do set forth in figure both the incorporation and inseparable conjunction of counsel with kings, and the wise and politic use of counsel by kings: the one, in that they say Jupiter did marry Metis, which signifieth counsel; whereby they intend that sovereignty is married to counsel; the other in that which followeth, which was thus: they say, after Jupiter was married to Metis, she conceived by him and was with child, but Jupiter suffered her not to stay till she brought forth, but eat her up; whereby he be-

came himself with child, and was delivered of Pallas Armed, out of his head. Which monstrous fable containeth a secret of empire, how kings are to make use of their counsel of state: that first, they ought to refer matters unto them, which is the first begetting or impregnation; but when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped in the womb of their council, and grow ripe and ready to be brought forth, that then they suffer not their council to go through with the resolution and direction, as if it depended on them; but take the matter back into their own hands, and make it appear to the world, that the decrees and final directions (which, because they come forth with prudence and power, are resembled to Pallas Armed,) proceeded from themselves; and not only from their authority, but (the more to add reputation to themselves) from their head and device.

Let us now speak of the inconveniences of counsel, and of the remedies. The inconveniences that have been noted in calling and using counsel, are three: first, the revealing of affairs, whereby they become less secret; secondly, the weakening of the authority of princes, as if they were less of themselves; thirdly, the danger of being unfaithfully counselled, and more for the good of them that counsel, than of him that is counselled; for which inconveniences, the doctrine of Italy, and practice of France, in some kings' times, hath in-

troduced cabinet councils; a remedy worse than the disease.

As to secrecy, princes are not bound to communicate all matters with all counsellors, but may extract and select; neither is it necessary, that he that consulteth what he should do, should declare what he will do; but let princes beware that the unsecreting of their affairs comes not from themselves: and, as for cabinet councils, it may be their motto, "plenus rimarum sum:" one futile person, that maketh it his glory to tell, will do more hurt than many, that know it their duty to conceal. It is true there be some affairs which require extreme secrecy, which will hardly go beyond one or two persons besides the king: neither are those counsels unprosperous; for, besides the secrecy, they commonly go on constantly in one spirit of direction without distraction: but then it must be a prudent king, such as is able to grind with a hand-mill; and those inward counsellors had need also be wise men, and especially true and trusty to the king's ends; as it was with king Henry the Seventh of England, who in his greatest business imparted himself to none, except it were to Morton and Fox.

For weakening of authority the fable showeth the remedy: nay, the majesty of kings is rather exalted than diminished when they are in the chair of council; neither was there ever prince bereaved of his dependencies by his council, except where

there hath been either an over-greatness in one counsellor, or an over-strict combination in divers, which are things soon found and holpen.

For the last inconvenience, that men will counsel with an eye to themselves; certainly, "non inveniet fidem super terram," is meant of the nature of times, and not of all particular persons. There be that are in nature faithful and sincere, and plain and direct, not crafty and involved: let princes, above all, draw to themselves such natures. Besides, counsellors are not commonly so united, but that one counsellor keepeth sentinel over another; so that if any do counsel out of faction or private ends, it commonly comes to the king's ear: but the best remedy is, if princes know their counsellors, as well as their counsellors know them:

"Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos."

And on the other side, counsellors should not be too speculative into their sovereign's person. The true composition of a counsellor is, rather to be skilful in their master's business than in his nature; for then he is like to advise him, and not to feed his humour. It is of singular use to princes if they take the opinions of their council both separately and together; for private opinion is more free, but opinion before others is more reverend. In private, men are more bold in their own humours; and in consort, men are more obnoxious to others' humours, therefore it is good to take both; and of the infe-

rior sort rather in private, to preserve freedom; of the greater, rather in consort, to preserve respect. It is in vain for princes to take counsel concerning matters, if they take no counsel likewise concerning persons; for all matters are as dead images; and the life of the execution of affairs resteth in the good choice of persons: neither is it enough to consult concerning persons, "secundum genera," as in an idea or mathematical description, what the kind and character of the person should be; for the greatest errors are committed, and the most judgment is shown, in the choice of individuals. It was truly said, "Optimi consiliarii mortui:" "books will speak plain when counsellors blanch;" therefore it is good to be conversant in them, specially the books of such as themselves have been actors upon the stage.

The councils at this day in most places are but familiar meetings, where matters are rather talked on than debated; and they run too swift to the order or act of council. It were better that in causes of weight the matter were propounded one day and not spoken to till the next day; "in nocte consilium:" so was it done in the commission of union between England and Scotland, which was a grave and orderly assembly. I commend set days for petitions; for both it gives the suitors more certainty for their attendance, and it frees the meetings for matters of estate, that they may "hoc agere." In choice of committees for ripening bu-

siness for the council, it is better to choose indifferent persons, than to make an indifferency by putting in those that are strong on both sides. I commend, also, standing commissions; as for trade, for treasure, for war, for suits, for some provinces; for where there be divers particular councils, and but one council of estate, (as it is in Spain) they are, in effect, no more than standing commissions, save that they have greater authority. Let such as are to inform councils out of their particular professions, (as lawyers, seamen, mintmen, and the like,) be first heard before committees; and then, as occasion serves, before the council; and let them not come in multitudes, or in a tribunitious manner; for that is to clamour councils, not to inform them. A long table and a square table, or seats about the walls, seem things of form, but are things of substance; for at a long table a few at the upper end, in effect, sway all the business; but in the other form there is more use of the counsellors' opinions that sit lower. A king, when he presides in council, let him beware how he opens his own inclination too much in that which he propoundeth; for else counsellors will but take the wind of him, and instead of giving free counsel, will sing him a song of "placebo."

XXI. OF DELAYS.

FORTUNE is like the market, where many times, if you can stay a little, the price will fall; and again, it is sometimes like Sibylla's offer, which at first offereth the commodity at full, then consumeth part and part, and still holdeth up the price; for occasion (as it is in the common verse) turneth a bald noddle after she hath presented her locks in front, and no hold taken; or, at least, turneth the handle of the bottle first to be received, and after the belly, which is hard to clasp. There is surely no greater wisdom than well to time the beginnings and onsets of things. Dangers are no more light, if they once seem light; and more dangers have deceived men than forced them: nay, it were better to meet some dangers half way, though they come nothing near, than to keep too long a watch upon their approaches; for if a man watch too long, it is odds he will fall asleep. On the other side, to be deceived with too long shadows, (as some have been when the moon was low and shone on their enemies' back) and so to shoot off before the time; or to teach dangers to come on by over early buckling towards them, is another extreme. The ripeness or unripeness of the occasion, (as we said) must ever be well weighed; and

generally it is good to commit the beginnings of all great actions to Argus with his hundred eyes, and the ends to Briareus with his hundred hands; first to watch, and then to speed; for the helmet of Pluto, which maketh the politic man go invisible, is secrecy in the council, and celerity in the execution; for when things are once come to the execution, there is no secrecy comparable to celerity; like the motion of a bullet in the air, which flieth so swift as it outruns the eye.

XXII. OF CUNNING.

WE take cunning for a sinister, or crooked wisdom; and certainly there is great difference between a cunning man and wise man, not only in point of honesty, but in point of ability. There be that can pack the cards, and yet cannot play well; so there are some that are good in canvasses and factions, that are otherwise weak men. Again, it is one thing to understand persons, and another thing to understand matters; for many are perfect in men's humours, that are not greatly capable of the real part of business, which is the constitution of one that hath studied men more than books. Such men are fitter for practice than for counsel, and they are good but in their own alley: turn them to new men, and they have lost their

aim; so as the old rule, to know a fool from a wise man, "Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos, et videbis," doth scarce hold for them; and, because these cunning men are like haberdashers of small wares, it is not amiss to set forth their shop.

It is a point of cunning to wait upon him with whom you speak with your eye, as the Jesuits give it in precept; for there be many wise men that have secret hearts and transparent countenances: yet this would be done with a demure abasing of your eye sometimes, as the Jesuits also do use.

Another is, that when you have any thing to obtain of present dispatch, you entertain and amuse the party with whom you deal with some other discourse, that he be not too much awake to make objections. I knew a counsellor and secretary, that never came to queen Elizabeth of England with bills to sign, but he would always first put her into some discourse of estate, that she might the less mind the bills.

The like surprise may be made by moving things when the party is in haste, and cannot stay to consider advisedly of that is moved.

If a man would cross a business that he doubts some other would handsomely and effectually move, let him pretend to wish it well, and move it himself, in such sort as may foil it.

The breaking off in the midst of that, one was about to say, as if he took himself up, breeds

greater appetite in him, with whom you confer, to know more.

And because it works better when any thing seemeth to be gotten from you by question, than if you offer it of yourself, you may lay a bait for a question, by showing another visage and countenance than you are wont; to the end, to give occasion for the party to ask what the matter is of the change, as Nehemiah did, "And I had not before that time been sad before the king."

In things that are tender and unpleasing, it is good to break the ice by some whose words are of less weight, and to reserve the more weighty voice to come in as by chance, so that he may be asked the question upon the other's speech; as Narcissus did, in relating to Claudius the marriage of Messalina and Silius.

In things that a man would not be seen in himself, it is a point of cunning to borrow the name of the world; as to say, "The world says," or "There is a speech abroad."

I knew one that, when he wrote a letter, he would put that which was most material in the postscript, as if it had been a bye matter.

I knew another that, when he came to have speech, he would pass over that that he intended most: and go forth and come back again, and speak of it as of a thing that he had almost forgot.

Some procure themselves to be surprised at such

times as it is like the party that they work upon, will suddenly come upon them, and to be found with a letter in their hand, or doing somewhat which they are not accustomed, to the end they may be apposed of those things which of themselves they are desirous to utter.

It is a point of cunning, to let fall those words in a man's own name which he would have another man learn and use, and thereupon take advantage. I knew two that were competitors for the secretary's place, in queen Elizabeth's time, and yet kept good quarter between themselves, and would confer one with another upon the business; and the one of them said, that to be a secretary in the declination of a monarchy was a ticklish thing, and that he did not affect it: the other straight caught up those words, and discoursed with divers of his friends, that he had no reason to desire to be secretary in the declination of a monarchy. The first man took hold of it, and found means it was told the queen; who hearing of a declination of a monarchy, took it so ill, as she would never after hear of the other's suit.

There is a cunning, which we in England call "The turning of the cat in the pan;" which is, when that which a man says to another, he lays it as if another had said it to him; and, to say truth, it is not easy, when such a matter passed between two, to make it appear from which of them it first moved and began.

It is a way that some men have, to glance and dart at others by justifying themselves by negatives; as to say, "This I do not;" as Tigellinus did towards Burrhus, "Se non diversas spes, sed incolumitatem imperatoris simpliciter spectare."

Some have in readiness so many tales and stories, as there is nothing they would insinuate, but they can wrap it into a tale; which serveth both to keep themselves more in guard, and to make others carry it with more pleasure.

It is a good point of cunning for a man to shape the answer he would have in his own words and propositions; for it makes the other party stick the less.

It is strange how long some men will lie in wait to speak somewhat they desire to say; and how far about they will fetch, and how many other matters they will beat over to come near it: it is a thing of great patience, but yet of much use.

A sudden, bold, and unexpected question doth many times surprise a man, and lay him open. Like to him, that, having changed his name, and walking in Paul's, another suddenly came behind him and called him by his true name, whereat straightways he looked back.

But these small wares and petty points of cunning are infinite, and it were a good deed to make a list of them; for that nothing doth more hurt in a state than that cunning men pass for wise.

But certainly some there are that know the re-

sorts and falls of business, that cannot sink into the main of it; like a house that hath convenient stairs and entries, but never a fair room: therefore you shall see them find out pretty looses in the conclusion, but are noways able to examine or debate matters: and yet commonly they take advantage of their inability, and would be thought wits of direction. Some build rather upon the abusing of others, and (as we now say) putting tricks upon them, than upon soundness of their own proceedings: but Solomon saith, "Prudens advertit ad gressus suos: stultus divertit ad dolos."

XXIII. OF WISDOM FOR A MAN'S SELF.

An ant is a wise creature for itself, but it is a shrewd thing in an orchard or garden; and certainly men that are great lovers of themselves waste the public. Divide with reason between self-love and society; and be so true to thyself, as thou be not false to others, especially to thy king and country. It is a poor centre of a man's actions, himself. It is right earth; for that only stands fast upon his own centre; whereas all things that have affinity with the heavens, move upon the centre of another, which they benefit. The referring of all to a man's self, is more tolerable in a sovereign prince, because themselves are not only them-

selves, but their good and evil is at the peril of the public fortune: but it is a desperate evil in a servant to a prince, or a citizen in a republic; for whatsoever affairs pass such a man's hands, he crooketh them to his own ends, which must needs be often eccentric, to the ends of his master or state: therefore let princes, or states, choose such servants as have not this mark; except they mean their service should be made but the accessary. That which maketh the effect more pernicious is, that all proportion is lost; it were disproportion enough for the servant's good to be preferred before the master's; but yet it is a greater extreme, when a little good of the servant shall carry things against a great good of the master's: and yet that is the case of bad officers, treasurers, ambassadors, generals, and other false and corrupt servants; which set a bias upon their bowl, of their own petty ends and envies, to the overthrow of their master's great and important affairs: and, for the most part, the good such servants receive is after the model of their own fortune; but the hurt they sell for that good is after the model of their master's fortune: and certainly it is the nature of extreme self-lovers, as they will set a house on fire, and it were but to roast their eggs; and yet these men many times hold credit with their masters, because their study is but to please them, and profit themselves; and for either respect they will abandon the good of their affairs.

Wisdom for a man's self is, in many branches thereof, a depraved thing: it is the wisdom of rats, that will be sure to leave a house somewhat before it fall: it is the wisdom of the fox, that thrusts out the badger, who digged and made room for him: it is the wisdom of crocodiles, that shed tears when they would devour. But that which is specially to be noted is, that those which (as Cicero says of Pompey) are, "sui amantes, sine rivali," are many times unfortunate; and whereas they have all their times sacrificed to themselves, they become in the end themselves sacrifices to the inconstancy of fortune, whose wings they thought by their self-wisdom to have pinioned.

XXIV. OF INNOVATIONS.

AS the births of living creatures at first are ill-shapen, so are all innovations, which are the births of time: yet notwithstanding, as those that first bring honour into their family are commonly more worthy than most that succeed, so the first precedent (if it be good) is seldom attained by imitation; for ill to man's nature as it stands perverted, hath a natural motion strongest in continuance; but good, as a forced motion, strongest at first. Surely every medicine is an innovation, and he that will not apply new remedies must expect

new evils; for time is the greatest innovator; and if time of course alter things to the worse, and wisdom and counsel shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the end? It is true, that what is settled by custom, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit; and those things which have long gone together, are, as it were, confederate within themselves; whereas new things piece not so well; but, though they help by their utility, yet they trouble by their inconformity: besides, they are like strangers, more admired, and less favoured. All this is true, if time stood still; which, contrariwise, moveth so round, that a froward retention of custom is as turbulent a thing as an innovation; and they that reverence too much old times, are but a scorn to the new. It were good, therefore, that men in their innovations would follow the example of time itself, which indeed innovateth greatly, but quietly, and by degrees scarce to be perceived; for otherwise, whatsoever is new is unlooked for; and ever it mends some, and pairs other; and he that is holpen takes it for a fortune, and thanks the time; and he that is hurt for a wrong, and imputeth it to the author. It is good also not to try experiments in states, except the necessity be urgent, or the utility evident; and well to beware that it be the reformation that draweth on the change, and not the desire of change that pretendeth the reformation; and lastly, that the novelty, though it be not rejected, yet be held for a

suspect; and, as the Scripture saith, "That we make a stand upon the ancient way, and then look about us, and discover what is the straight and right way, and so to walk in it."

XXV. OF DISPATCH.

AFFECTED dispatch is one of the most dangerous things to business that can be: It is like that which the physicians call predigestion, or hasty digestion; which is sure to fill the body full of crudities, and secret seeds of diseases: therefore measure not dispatch by the times of sitting, but by the advancement of the business: and as, in races, it is not the large stride, or high lift, that makes the speed; so, in business, the keeping close to the matter, and not taking of it too much at once, procureth dispatch. It is the care of some only to come off speedily for the time, or to contrive some false periods of business, because they may seem men of dispatch: but it is one thing to abbreviate by contracting, another by cutting off; and business so handled at several sittings, or meetings, goeth commonly backward and forward in an unsteady manner. I knew a wise man, that had it for a by-word, when he saw men hasten to a conclusion, "Stay a little, that we may make an end the sooner."

On the other side, true dispatch is a rich thing; for time is the measure of business, as money is of wares; and business is bought at a dear hand where there is small dispatch. The Spartans and Spaniards have been noted to be of small dispatch: "Mi venga la muerte de Spagna;"—"Let my death come from Spain," for then it will be sure to be long in coming.

Give good hearing to those that give the first information in business, and rather direct them in the beginning, than interrupt them in the continuance of their speeches; for he that is put out of his own order will go forward and backward, and be more tedious while he waits upon his memory, than he could have been if he had gone on in his own course; but sometimes it is seen that the moderator is more troublesome than the actor.

Iterations are commonly loss of time; but there is no such gain of time as to iterate often the state of the question; for it chaseth away many a frivolous speech as it is coming forth. Long and curious speeches are as fit for dispatch, as a robe, or mantle, with a long train, is for race. Prefaces, and passages, and excusations, and other speeches of reference to the person, are great wastes of time; and though they seem to proceed of modesty, they are bravery. Yet beware of being too material when there is any impediment, or obstruction in men's wills; for pre-occupation of mind ever re-

quireth preface of speech, like a fomentation to make the unguent enter.

Above all things, order, and distribution, and singling out of parts, is the life of dispatch; so as the distribution be not too subtile: for he that doth not divide will never enter well into business; and he that divideth too much will never come out of it clearly. To choose time is to save time; and an unseasonable motion is but beating the air. There be three parts of business, the preparation; the debate, or examination; and the perfection; whereof, if you look for dispatch, let the middle only be the work of many, and the first and last the work of few. The proceeding upon somewhat conceived in writing doth for the most part facilitate dispatch: for though it should be wholly rejected, yet that negative is more pregnant of direction than an indefinite, as ashes are more generative than dust.

XXVI. OF SEEMING WISE.

IT hath been an opinion, that the French are wiser than they seem, and the Spaniards seem wiser than they are; but howsoever it be between nations, certainly it is so between man and man; for as the apostle saith of godliness, "Having a shew of godliness, but denying the power thereof;"

so certainly there are in point of wisdom, and sufficiency, that do nothing or little very solemnly: "magno conatu nugas." It is a ridiculous thing, and fit for a satire to persons of judgment, to see what shifts these formalists have, and what prospectives to make superfices to seem body that hath depth and bulk. Some are so close and reserved, as they will not show their wares but by a dark light, and seem always to keep back somewhat; and when they know within themselves they speak of that they do not well know, would nevertheless seem to others to know of that which they may not well speak. Some help themselves with countenance and gesture, and are wise by signs; as Cicero saith of Piso, that when he answered him he fetched one of his brows up to his forehead, and bent the other down to his chin; "Respondes, altero ad frontem sublato, altero ad mentum depresso supercilio, crudelitatem tibi non placere." Some think to bear it by speaking a great word, and being peremptory; and go on, and take by admittance that which they cannot make good. Some, whatsoever is beyond their reach, will seem to despise, or make light of it as impertinent or curious: and so would have their ignorance seem judgment. Some are never without a difference, and commonly by amusing men with a subtilty, blanch the matter; of whom A. Gellius saith, "Hominem delirum, qui verborum, minutiis rerum frangit pondera." Of which kind also Plato, in his Protagoras, bringeth

in Prodicus in scorn, and maketh him make a speech that consisteth of distinctions from the beginning to the end. Generally such men, in all deliberations, find ease to be of the negative side, and affect a credit to object and foretell difficulties; for when propositions are denied, there is an end of them; but if they be allowed, it requireth a new work; which false point of wisdom is the bane of business. To conclude, there is no decaying merchant, or inward beggar, hath so many tricks to uphold the credit of their wealth, as these empty persons have to maintain the credit of their sufficiency. Seeming wise men may make shift to get opinion; but let no man choose them for employment; for certainly, you were better take for business a man somewhat absurd than over-formal.

XXVII. OF FRIENDSHIP.

IT had been hard for him that spake it to have put more truth and untruth together in few words than in that speech, "Whosoever is delighted in solitude, is either a wild beast or a god:" for it is most true, that a natural and secret hatred and aversation towards society in any man, hath somewhat of the savage beast; but it is most untrue, that it should have any character at all of the divine nature, except it proceed, not out of a pleasure

in solitude, but out of a love and desire to sequester a man's self for a higher conversation: such as is found to have been falsely and feignedly in some of the heathen; as Epimenides, the Candian; Numa, the Roman; Empedocles, the Sicilian; and Apollonius of Tyana; and truly and really in divers of the ancient hermits and holy fathers of the church. But little do men perceive what solitude is, and how far it extendeth; for a crowd is not company, and faces are but a gallery of pictures, and talk but a tinkling cymbal where there is no love. The Latin adage meeteth with it a little: "Magna civitas, magna solitudo;" because in a great town friends are scattered, so that there is not that fellowship, for the most part, which is in less neighbourhoods: but we may go farther, and affirm most truly, that it is a mere and miserable solitude to want true friends, without which the world is but a wilderness; and even in this sense also of solitude, whosoever in the frame of his nature and affections is unfit for friendship, he taketh it of the beast, and not from humanity.

A principal fruit of friendship is the ease and discharge of the fulness and swellings of the heart, which passions of all kinds do cause and induce. We know diseases of stoppings and suffocations are the most dangerous in the body; and it is not much otherwise in the mind; you may take sarza to open the liver, steel to open the spleen, flower of sulphur for the lungs, castoreum for the brain;

but no receipt openeth the heart but a true friend, to whom you may impart griefs, joys, fears, hopes, suspicions, counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the heart to oppress it, in a kind of civil shrift or confession.

It is a strange thing to observe how high a rate great kings and monarchs do set upon this fruit of friendship whereof we speak: so great, as they purchase it many times at the hazard of their own safety and greatness: for princes, in regard of the distance of their fortune from that of their subjects and servants, cannot gather this fruit, except (to make themselves capable thereof) they raise some persons to be as it were companions, and almost equals to themselves, which many times sorteth to inconvenience. The modern languages give unto such persons the name of favourites, or privadoes, as if it were matter of grace, or conversation; but the Roman name attaineth the true use and cause thereof, naming them "participes curarum;" for it is that which tieth the knot: and we see plainly that this hath been done, not by weak and passionate princes only, but by the wisest and most politic that ever reigned, who have oftentimes joined to themselves some of their servants, whom both themselves have called friends, and allowed others likewise to call them in the same manner, using the word which is received between private men.

L. Sylla, when he commanded Rome, raised Pompey (after surnamed the Great) to that height,

that Pompey vaunted himself for Sylla's overmatch; for when he had carried the consulship for a friend of his, against the pursuit of Sylla, and that Sylla did a little resent thereat, and began to speak great, Pompey turned upon him again, and in effect bade him be quiet; for that more men adored the sun rising than the sun setting. With Julius Cæsar, Decimus Brutus had obtained that interest, as he set him down in his testament for heir in remainder after his nephew; and this was the man that had power with him to draw him forth to his death: for when Cæsar would have discharged the senate, in regard of some ill presages, and specially a dream of Calpurnia, this man lifted him gently by the arm out of his chair, telling him he hoped he would not dismiss the senate till his wife had dreamed a better dream; and it seemeth his favour was so great, as Antonius in a letter which is recited verbatim in one of Cicero's Philippics, calleth him "venefica,"—"witch;" as if he had enchanted Cæsar. Augustus raised Agrippa (though of mean birth) to that height, as, when he consulted with Mæcenas about the marriage of his daughter Julia, Mæcenas took the liberty to tell him, that he must either marry his daughter to Agrippa, or take away his life: there was no third way, he had made him so great. With Tiberius Cæsar, Sejanus had ascended to that height as they two were termed and reckoned as a pair of friends. Tiberius, in a letter to him, saith, "Hæc

pro amicitiâ nostra non occultavi;" and the whole senate dedicated an altar to Friendship, as to a goddess, in respect of the great dearness of friendship between them two. The like, or more, was between Septimius Severus and Plantianus; for he forced his eldest son to marry the daughter of Plantianus, and would often maintain Plantianus in doing affronts to his son; and did write also, in a letter to the senate, by these words: "I love the man so well, as I wish he may over-live me." Now, if these princes had been as a Trajan, or a Marcus Aurelius, a man might have thought that this had proceeded of an abundant goodness of nature; but being men so wise, of such strength and severity of mind, and so extreme lovers of themselves, as all these were, it proveth most plainly, that they found their own felicity (though as great as ever happened to mortal men) but as an half piece, except they might have a friend to make it entire; and yet, which is more, they were princes that had wives, sons, nephews; and yet all these could not supply the comfort of friendship.

It is not to be forgotten what Comineus observeth of his first master, duke Charles the Hardy, namely, that he would communicate his secrets with none; and least of all, those secrets which troubled him most. Whereupon he goeth on, and saith that towards his latter time that closeness did impair and a little perish his understanding. Surely Comineus might have made the same judgment also, if it had

pleased him, of his second master, Lewis the Eleventh, whose closeness was indeed his tormentor. The parable of Pythagoras is dark, but true, "Cor ne edito,"—"eat not the heart." Certainly, if a man would give it a hard phrase, those that want friends to open themselves unto are cannibals of their own hearts: but one thing is most admirable (wherewith I will conclude this first fruit of friendship), which is, that this communicating of a man's self to his friend works two contrary effects, for it redoubleth joys, and cutteth griefs in halves; for there is no man that imparteth his joys to his friend, but he joyeth the more: and no man that imparteth his griefs to his friend, but he grieveth the less. So that it is, in truth, of operation upon a man's mind of like virtue as the alchymists use to attribute to their stone for man's body, that it worketh all contrary effects, but still to the good and benefit of nature: but yet, without praying in aid of alchymists, there is a manifest image of this in the ordinary course of nature; for, in bodies, union strengtheneth and cherisheth any natural action; and, on the other side, weakeneth and dulleth any violent impression; and even so it is of minds.

The second fruit of friendship is healthful and sovereign for the understanding, as the first is for the affections; for friendship maketh indeed a fair day in the affections from storm and tempests, but it maketh daylight in the understanding, out of darkness and confusion of thoughts: neither is this

to be understood only of faithful counsel, which a man receiveth from his friend; but before you come to that, certain it is, that whosoever hath his mind fraught with many thoughts, his wits and understanding do clarify and break up, in the communicating and discoursing with another; he tosseth his thoughts more easily; he marshalleth them more orderly; he seeth how they look when they are turned into words: finally, he waxeth wiser than himself; and that more by an hour's discourse than by a day's meditation. It was well said by Themistocles to the king of Persia, "That speech was like cloth of Arras, opened and put abroad; whereby the imagery doth appear in figure; whereas in thoughts they lie but as in packs." Neither is this second fruit of friendship, in opening the understanding, restrained only to such friends as are able to give a man counsel, (they indeed are best,) but even without that a man learneth of himself, and bringeth his own thoughts to light, and whetteth his wits as against a stone, which itself cuts not. In a word, a man were better relate himself to a statue or picture, than to suffer his thoughts to pass in smother.

Add now, to make this second fruit of friendship complete, that other point which lieth more open, and falleth within vulgar observation: which is faithful counsel from a friend. Heraclitus saith well in one of his enigmas, "Dry light is ever the best:" and certain it is, that the light that a man

receiveth by counsel from another, is drier and purer than that which cometh from his own understanding and judgment; which is ever infused and drenched in his affections and customs. So as there is as much difference between the counsel that a friend giveth, and that a man giveth himself, as there is between the counsel of a friend and of a flatterer; for there is no such flatterer as is a man's self, and there is no such remedy against flattery of a man's self as the liberty of a friend. Counsel is of two sorts; the one concerning manners, the other concerning business: for the first, the best preservative to keep the mind in health is the faithful admonition of a friend. The calling of a man's self to a strict account is a medicine sometimes too piercing and corrosive; reading good books of morality is a little flat and dead; observing our faults in others is sometimes improper for our case; but the best receipt (best I say to work and best to take) is the admonition of a friend. It is a strange thing to behold what gross errors and extreme absurdities many (especially of the greater sort) do commit for want of a friend to tell them of them, to the great damage both of their fame and fortune: for, as St. James saith, they are as men "that look sometimes into a glass, and presently forget their own shape and favour:" as for business, a man may think, if he will, that two eyes see no more than one; or, that a gamester seeth always more than a looker-on; or, that a man in anger is as wise as he that

hath said over the four and twenty letters; or, that a musket may be shot off as well upon the arm as upon a rest; and such other fond and high imaginations, to think himself all in all: but when all is done, the help of good counsel is that which setteth business straight; and if any man think that he will take counsel, but it shall be by pieces; asking counsel in one business of one man, and in another business of another man; it is well, (that is to say, better, perhaps, than if he asked none at all,) but he runneth two dangers; one, that he shall not be faithfully counselled; for it is a rare thing, except it be from a perfect and entire friend, to have counsel given, but such as shall be bowed and crooked to some ends which he hath that giveth it: the other that he shall have counsel given, hurtful and unsafe, (though with good meaning,) and mixed partly of mischief, and partly of remedy; even as if you would call a physician, that is thought good for the cure of the disease you complain of, but is unacquainted with your body; and, therefore, may put you in a way for a present cure, but overthroweth your health in some other kind, and so cure the disease, and kill the patient: but a friend, that is wholly acquainted with a man's estate, will beware, by furthering any present business, how he dasheth upon other inconvenience; and, therefore, rest not upon scattered counsels; they will rather distract and mislead, than settle and direct.

After these two noble fruits of friendship, (peace in the affections, and support of the judgment), followeth the last fruit, which is, like the pomegranate, full of many kernels; I mean, aid and bearing a part in all actions and occasions. Here the best way to represent to life the manifold use of friendship, is to cast and see how many things there are which a man cannot do himself; and then it will appear that it was a sparing speech of the ancients, to say, "that a friend is another himself; for that a friend is far more than himself." Men have their time, and die many times in desire of some things which they principally take to heart; the bestowing of a child, the finishing of a work, or the like. If a man have a true friend, he may rest almost secure that the care of those things will continue after him; so that a man hath, as it were, two lives in his desires. A man hath a body, and that body is confined to a place: but where friendship is, all offices of life are, as it were, granted to him and his deputy; for he may exercise them by his friend. How many things are there, which a man cannot, with any face, or comeliness, say or do himself? A man can scarce allege his own merits with modesty, much less extol them: a man cannot sometimes brook to supplicate, or beg, and a number of the like: but all these things are graceful in a friend's mouth, which are blushing in a man's own. So again, a man's person hath many proper relations which he cannot put off. A man

cannot speak to his son but as a father; to his wife but as a husband; to his enemy but upon terms: whereas a friend may speak as the case requires, and not as it sorteth with the person: but to enumerate these things were endless; I have given the rule, where a man cannot fitly play his own part, if he have not a friend, he may quit the stage.

XXVIII. OF EXPENCE.

RICHES are for spending, and spending for honour and good actions; therefore extraordinary expence must be limited by the worth of the occasion; for voluntary undoing may be as well for a man's country as for the kingdom of heaven; but ordinary expence ought to be limited by a man's estate, and governed with such regard, as it be within his compass; and not subject to deceit and abuse of servants; and ordered to the best shew, that the bills may be less than the estimation abroad. Certainly, if a man will keep but of even hand, his ordinary expences ought to be but to the half of his receipts; and if he think to wax rich, but to the third part. It is no baseness for the greatest to descend and look into their own estate. Some forbear it, not upon negligence alone, but doubting to bring themselves into melancholy, in respect they shall find it broken: but wounds cannot be cured

without searching. He that cannot look into his own estate at all, had need both choose well those whom he employeth, and change them often; for new are more timorous and less subtle. He that can look into his estate but seldom, it behoveth him to turn all to certainties. A man had need, if he be plentiful in some kind of expence, to be as saving again in some other: as if he be plentiful in diet, to be saving in apparel: if he be plentiful in the hall, to be saving in the stable, and the like; for he that is plentiful in expences of all kinds will hardly be preserved from decay. In clearing of a man's estate, he may as well hurt himself in being too sudden, as in letting it run on too long; for hasty selling is commonly as disadvantageable as interest. Besides, he that clears at once will relapse; for finding himself out of straits, he will revert to his customs: but he that cleareth by degrees induceth a habit of frugality, and gaineth as well upon his mind as upon his estate. Certainly, who hath a state to repair, may not despise small things; and, commonly, it is less dishonourable to abridge petty charges than to stoop to petty gettings. A man ought warily to begin charges, which once begun will continue: but in matters that return not, he may be more magnificent.

XXIX. OF THE TRUE GREATNESS OF KINGDOMS AND ESTATES.

THE speech of Themistocles, the Athenian, which was haughty and arrogant, in taking so much to himself, had been a grave and wise observation and censure, applied at large to others.—Desired at a feast to touch a lute, he said, "He could not fiddle, but yet he could make a small town a great city." These words (holpen a little with a metaphor) may express two differing abilities in those that deal in business of estate; for, if a true survey be taken of counsellors and statesmen, there may be found, (though rarely) those which can make a small state great, and yet cannot fiddle: as, on the other side, there will be found a great many that can fiddle very cunningly, but yet are so far from being able to make a small state great, as their gift lieth the other way; to bring a great and flourishing estate to ruin and decay; and, certainly, those degenerate arts and shifts, whereby many counsellors and governors gain both favour with their masters, and estimation with the vulgar, deserve no better name than fiddling; being things rather pleasing for the time, and graceful to themselves only, than tending to the weal and ad-

vancement of the state which they serve. There are also (no doubt) counsellors and governors which may be held sufficient, "negotiis pares," able to manage affairs, and to keep them from precipices and manifest inconveniences; which, nevertheless, are far from the ability to raise and amplify an estate in power, means, and fortune: but be the workmen what they may be, let us speak of the work; that is, the true greatness of kingdoms and estates, and the means thereof. An argument fit for great and mighty princes to have in their hand; to the end, that neither by over-measuring their forces, they lose themselves in vain enterprises: nor, on the other side, by undervaluing them, they descend to fearful and pusillanimous counsels.

The greatness of an estate, in bulk and territory, doth fall under measure; and the greatness of finances and revenue doth fall under computation. The population may appear by musters; and the number and greatness of cities and towns by cards and maps; but yet there is not any thing, amongst civil affairs, more subject to error than the right valuation and true judgment concerning the power and forces of an estate. The kingdom of heaven is compared, not to any great kernel, or nut, but to a grain of mustard-seed; which is one of the least grains, but hath in it a property and spirit hastily to get up and spread. So are there states great in territory, and yet not apt to enlarge

or command: and some that have but a small dimension of stem, and yet apt to be the foundations of great monarchies.

Walled towns, stored arsenals and armories; goodly races of horse, chariots of war, elephants; ordnance, artillery, and the like; all this is but a sheep in a lion's skin, except the breed and disposition of the people be stout and warlike. Nay, number (itself) in armies importeth not much, where the people is of weak courage; for, as Virgil saith, "It never troubles a wolf how many the sheep be." The army of the Persians in the plains of Arbela was such a vast sea of people, as it did somewhat astonish the commanders in Alexander's army, who came to him, therefore, and wished him to set upon them by night; but he answered, "He would not pilfer the victory;" and the defeat was easy. When Tigranes, the Arminian, being encamped upon a hill with four hundred thousand men, discovered the army of the Romans, being not above fourteen thousand, marching towards him, he made himself merry with it, and said, "Yonder men are too many for an ambassage, and too few for a fight;" but before the sun set, he found them enow to give him the chase with infinite slaughter. Many are the examples of the great odds between number and courage: so that a man may truly make a judgment, that the principal point of greatness, in any state, is to have a race of military men. Neither is money the sinews of war

(as it is trivially said), where the sinews of men's arms in base and effeminate people are failing; for Solon said well to Crœsus (when in ostentation he shewed him his gold), "Sir, if any other come that hath better iron than you, he will be master of all this gold." Therefore, let any prince, or state, think soberly of his forces, except his militia of natives be of good and valiant soldiers; and let princes, on the other side, that have subjects of martial disposition, know their own strength, unless they be otherwise wanting unto themselves. As for mercenary forces (which is the help in this case,) all examples show that, whatsoever estate, or prince, doth rest upon them, he may spread his feathers for a time, but he will mew them soon after.

The blessing of Judah and Issachar will never meet; that the same people, or nation, should be both the lion's whelp and the ass between burdens; neither will it be, that a people overlaid with taxes should ever become valiant and martial. It is true, that taxes, levied by consent of the estate, do abate men's courage less; as it hath been seen notably in the excises of the Low Countries; and, in some degree, in the subsidies of England; for, you must note, that we speak now of the heart, and not of the purse; so that, although the same tribute and tax laid by consent or by imposing, be all one to the purse, yet it works diversely upon the courage. So that you may conclude, that no people overcharged with tribute is fit for empire.

Let states, that aim at greatness, take heed how their nobility and gentlemen do multiply too fast; for that maketh the common subject grow to be a peasant and base swain, driven out of heart, and, in effect but the gentleman's labourer. Even as you may see in coppice woods; if you leave your staddles too thick, you shall never have clean underwood, but shrubs and bushes. So in countries, if the gentlemen be too many, the commons will be base; and you will bring it to that, that not the hundredth poll will be fit for a helmet; especially as to the infantry, which is the nerve of an army; and so there will be great population and little strength. This which I speak of hath been no where better seen than by comparing of England and France; whereof England, though far less in territory and population, hath been (nevertheless) an overmatch; in regard the middle people of England make good soldiers, which the peasants of France do not: and herein the device of king Henry the Seventh (whereof I have spoken largely in the history of his life) was profound and admirable; in making farms and houses of husbandry of a standard; that is, maintained with such a proportion of land unto them as may breed a subject to live in convenient plenty, and no servile condition; and to keep the plough in the hands of the owners, and not mere hirelings; and thus indeed you shall attain to Virgil's character, which he gives to ancient Italy:

"Terra potens armis atque ubere glebæ."

Neither is that state (which, for any thing I know, is almost peculiar to England, and hardly to be found any where else, except it be, perhaps, in Poland) to be passed over; I mean the state of free servants and attendants upon noblemen and gentlemen, which are no ways inferior unto the yeomanry for arms; and, therefore, out of all question, the splendour and magnificence, and great retinues, and hospitality of noblemen and gentlemen received into custom, do much conduce unto martial greatness; whereas, contrariwise, the close and reserved living of noblemen and gentlemen causeth a penury of military forces.

By all means it is to be procured, that the trunk of Nebuchadnezzar's tree of monarchy be great enough to bear the branches and the boughs; that is, that the natural subjects of the crown, or state, bear a sufficient proportion to the stranger subjects that they govern; therefore all states that are liberal of naturalization towards strangers are fit for empire: for to think that a handful of people can, with the greatest courage and policy in the world, embrace too large extent of dominion, it may hold for a time, but it will fail suddenly. The Spartans were a nice people in point of naturalization; whereby, while they kept their compass, they stood firm; but when they did spread, and their boughs were become too great for their stem, they became a windfall upon the sudden. Never any state was,

in this point, so open to receive strangers into their body as were the Romans; therefore it sorted with them accordingly, for they grew to the greatest monarchy. Their manner was to grant naturalization (which they called "jus civitatis"), and to grant it in the highest degree, that is, not only "jus commercii, jus connubii, jus hæreditatis;" but also, "jus suffragii," and "jus honorum;" and this not to singular persons alone, but likewise to whole families; yea, to cities, and sometimes to nations. Add to this their custom of plantation of colonies, whereby the Roman plant was removed into the soil of other nations, and, putting both constitutions together, you will say, that it was not the Romans that spread upon the world, but it was the world that spread upon the Romans; and that was the sure way of greatness. I have marvelled sometimes at Spain, how they clasp and contain so large dominions with so few natural Spaniards; but sure the whole compass of Spain is a very great body of a tree, far above Rome and Sparta at the first; and, besides, though they have not had that usage to naturalize liberally, yet they have that which is next to it; that is, to employ, almost indifferently, all nations in their militia of ordinary soldiers; yea, and sometimes in their highest commands; nay, it seemeth, at this instant, they are sensible of this want of natives; as by the pragmatical sanction, now published, appeareth.

It is certain, that sedentary and within-door arts,

and delicate manufactures (that require rather the finger than the arm), have in their nature a contrariety to a military disposition; and generally all warlike people are a little idle, and love danger better than travail; neither must they be too much broken of it, if they shall be preserved in vigour: therefore it was great advantage in the ancient states of Sparta, Athens, Rome, and others, that they had the use of slaves, which commonly did rid those manufactures; but that is abolished, in greatest part, by the Christian law. That which cometh nearest to it is, to leave those arts chiefly to strangers (which, for that purpose, are the more easily to be received), and to contain the principal bulk of the vulgar natives within those three kinds, tillers of the ground, free servants, and handicraftsmen of strong and manly arts; as smiths, masons, carpenters, &c. not reckoning professed soldiers.

But, above all, for empire and greatness, it importeth most, that a nation do profess arms as their principal honour, study, and occupation; for the things which we formerly have spoken of are but habilitations towards arms; and what is habilitation without intention and act? Romulus, after his death, (as they report or feign), sent a present to the Romans, that above all they should intend arms, and then they should prove the greatest empire of the world. The fabric of the state of Sparta was wholly (though not wisely) framed and composed to that scope and end; the Persians and Macedo-

nians had it for a flash; the Gauls, Germans, Goths, Saxons, Normans, and others, had it for a time: the Turks have it at this day, though in great declination. Of Christian Europe, they that have it are, in effect, only the Spaniards: but it is so plain, that every man profiteth in that he most intendeth, that it needeth not to be stood upon: it is enough to point at it; that no nation which doth not directly profess arms, may look to have greatness fall into their mouths; and, on the other side, it is a most certain oracle of time, that those states that continue long in that profession (as the Romans and Turks principally have done) do wonders; and those that have professed arms but for an age have, notwithstanding, commonly attained that greatness in that age which maintained them long after, when their profession and exercise of arms had grown to decay.

Incident to this point, is for a state to have those laws or customs which may reach forth unto them just occasions (as may be pretended) of war; for there is that justice imprinted in the nature of men, that they enter not upon wars (whereof so many calamities do ensue), but upon some, at the least specious grounds and quarrels. The Turk hath at hand, for cause of war, the propagation of his law or sect, a quarrel that he may always command. The Romans, though they esteemed the extending the limits of their empire to be great honour to their generals when it was done, yet they never

rested upon that alone to begin a war: first, therefore, let nations that pretend to greatness have this, that they be sensible of wrongs, either upon borderers, merchants, or politic ministers; and that they sit not too long upon a provocation: secondly, let them be pressed and ready to give aids and succours to their confederates; as it ever was with the Romans; insomuch, as if the confederates had leagues defensive with divers other states, and, upon invasion offered, did implore their aids severally, yet the Romans would ever be the foremost, and leave it to none other to have the honour. As for the wars, which were anciently made on the behalf of a kind of party, or tacit conformity of estate, I do not see how they may be well justified: as when the Romans made a war for the liberty of Græcia: or, when the Lacedæmonians and Athenians made wars to set up or pull down democracies and oligarchies: or when wars were made by foreigners, under the pretence of justice or protection, to deliver the subjects of others from tyranny and oppression, and the like. Let it suffice, that no estate expect to be great, that is not awake, upon any just occasion of arming.

Nobody can be healthful without exercise, neither natural body nor politic; and, certainly, to a kingdom, or estate, a just and honourable war is the true exercise. A civil war, indeed, is like the heat of a fever; but a foreign war is like the heat of exercise, and serveth to keep the body in health;

for, in a slothful peace, both courages will effeminate and manners corrupt; but howsoever it be for happiness, without all question for greatness, it maketh to be still for the most part in arms; and the strength of a veteran army (though it be a chargeable business), always on foot, is that which commonly giveth the law; or, at least, the reputation amongst all neighbour states, as may well be seen in Spain, which hath had, in one part or other, a veteran army almost continually, now by the space of six score years.

To be master of the sea is an abridgment of a monarchy. Cicero, writing to Atticus of Pompey's preparation against Cæsar, saith, "Consilium Pompeii plane Themistocleum est; putat enim, qui mari potitur, eum rerum potiri;" and, without doubt, Pompey had tired out Cæsar, if upon vain confidence he had not left that way. We see the great effects of battles by sea: the battle of Actium decided the empire of the world; the battle of Lepanto arrested the greatness of the Turk. There be many examples where sea fights have been final to the war: but this is when princes, or states, have set up their rest upon the battles; but thus much is certain, that he that commands the sea is at great liberty, and may take as much and as little of the war as he will; whereas those that be strongest by land are many times, nevertheless, in great straits. Surely, at this day, with us of Europe, the vantage of strength at sea (which is one of the principal

dowries of this kingdom of Great Britain) is great; both because most of the kingdoms of Europe are not merely inland, but girt with the sea most part of their compass; and because the wealth of both Indies seems, in great part, but an accessary to the command of the seas.

The wars of later ages seem to be made in the dark, in respect to the glory and honour which reflected upon men from the wars in ancient time. There be now, for martial encouragement, some degrees and orders of chivalry, which nevertheless, are conferred promiscuously upon soldiers and no soldiers, and some remembrance perhaps upon the escutcheon, and some hospitals for maimed soldiers, and such like things; but in ancient times, the trophies erected upon the place of the victory; the funeral laudatives and monuments for those that died in the wars; the crowns and garlands personal; the style of emperor, which the great kings of the world after borrowed; the triumphs of the generals upon their return; the great donatives and largesses upon the disbanding of the armies, were things able to inflame all men's courages; but above all, that of the triumph amongst the Romans was not pageants, or gaudery, but one of the wisest and noblest institutions that ever was; for it contained three things, honour to the general, riches to the treasury out of the spoils, and donatives to the army: but that honour, perhaps, were not fit for monarchies, except it be in the person of the

monarch himself, or his sons; as it came to pass in the times of the Roman emperors, who did impropriate the actual triumphs to themselves and their sons, for such wars as they did achieve in person, and left only for wars achieved by subjects, some triumphal garments and ensigns to the general.

To conclude: no man can by care taking (as the Scripture saith), "add a cubit to his stature," in this little model of a man's body; but in the great fame of kingdoms and commonwealths, it is in the power of princes, or estates, to add amplitude and greatness to their kingdoms; for by introducing such ordinances, constitutions, and customs, as we have now touched, they may sow greatness to their posterity and succession: but these things are commonly not observed, but left to take their chance.

XXX. OF REGIMEN OF HEALTH.

THERE is a wisdom in this beyond the rules of physic: a man's own observation, what he finds good of, and what he finds hurt of, is the best physic to preserve health; but it is a safer conclusion to say, "This agreeth not well with me, therefore I will not continue it;" than this, "I find no offence of this, therefore I may use it:" for strength of nature in youth passeth over many excesses

which are owing a man till his age. Discern of the coming on of years, and think not to do the same things still; for age will not be defied. Beware of sudden change in any great point of diet, and, if necessity enforce it, fit the rest to it; for it is a secret both in nature and state, that it is safer to change many things than one. Examine thy customs of diet, sleep, exercise, apparel, and the like; and try, in any thing thou shalt judge hurtful, to discontinue it by little and little; but so, as if thou dost find any inconvenience by the change, thou come back to it again: for it is hard to distinguish that which is generally held good and wholesome, from that which is good particularly, and fit for thine own body. To be free-minded and cheerfully disposed at hours of meat and of sleep, and of exercise, is one of the best precepts of long lasting. As for the passions and studies of the mind, avoid envy, anxious fears, anger, fretting inwards, subtle and knotty inquisitions, joys, and exhilarations in excess, sadness not communicated. Entertain hopes, mirth rather than joy, variety of delights, rather than surfeit of them; wonder and admiration, and therefore novelties; studies that fill the mind with splendid and illustrious objects, as histories, fables, and contemplations of nature. If you fly physic in health altogether, it will be too strange for your body when you shall need it; if you make it too familiar, it will work no extraordinary effect when sickness cometh. I commend rather

some diet, for certain seasons, than frequent use of physic, except it be grown into a custom; for those diets alter the body more, and trouble it less. Despise no new accident in your body, but ask opinion of it. In sickness, respect health principally; and in health, action: for those that put their bodies to endure in health, may, in most sicknesses which are not very sharp, be cured only with diet and tendering. Celsus could never have spoken it as a physician, had he not been a wise man withal, when he giveth it for one of the great precepts of health and lasting, that a man do vary and interchange contraries, but with an inclination to the more benign extreme: use fasting and full eating, but rather full eating; watching and sleep, but rather sleep; sitting and exercise, but rather exercise, and the like: so shall nature be cherished, and yet taught masteries. Physicians are some of them so pleasing and conformable to the humour of the patient, as they press not the true cure of the disease; and some other are so regular in proceeding according to art for the disease, as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the patient. Take one of a middle temper; or, if it may not be found in one man, combine two of either sort; and forget not to call as well the best acquainted with your body, as the best reputed of for his faculty.

XXXI. OF SUSPICION.

SUSPICIONS among thoughts are like bats among birds, they ever fly by twilight: certainly they are to be repressed, or at the least well guarded: for they cloud the mind, they lose friends, and they check with business, whereby business cannot go on currently and constantly: they dispose kings to tyranny, husbands to jealousy, wise men to irresolution and melancholy: they are defects, not in the heart, but in the brain; for they take place in the stoutest natures, as in the example of Henry the Seventh of England; there was not a more suspicious man nor a more stout: and in such a composition they do small hurt; for commonly they are not admitted, but with examination, whether they be likely or no? but in fearful natures they gain ground too fast. There is nothing makes a man suspect much, more than to know little; and, therefore, men should remedy suspicion by procuring to know more, and not to keep their suspicions in smother. What would men have? do they think those they employ and deal with are saints? do they not think they will have their own ends, and be truer to themselves than to them? therefore there is no better way to moderate suspicions, than to account upon such suspicions as true, and yet to bridle

them as false; for so far a man ought to make use of suspicions, as to provide, as if that should be true that he suspects, yet it may do him no hurt. Suspicions that the mind of itself gathers are but buzzes; but suspicions that are artificially nourished, and put into men's heads by the tales and whisperings of others, have stings. Certainly, the best mean to clear the way in this same wood of suspicions, is frankly to communicate them with the party that he suspects; for thereby he shall be sure to know more of the truth of them than he did before; and withal shall make that party more circumspect, not to give further cause of suspicion; but this would not be done to men of base natures; for they, if they find themselves once suspected, will never be true. The Italian says, "Sospetto licentia fede;" as if suspicion did give a passport to faith; but it ought rather to kindle it to discharge itself.

XXXII. OF DISCOURSE.

SOME in their discourse desire rather commendation of wit, in being able to hold all arguments, than of judgment, in discerning what is true; as if it were a praise to know what might be said, and not what should be thought. Some have certain common places and themes, wherein

they are good, and want variety; which kind of poverty is for the most part tedious, and, when it is once perceived, ridiculous. The honourablest part of talk is to give the occasion; and again to moderate and pass to somewhat else, for then a man leads the dance. It is good in discourse, and speech of conversation, to vary and intermingle speech of the present occasion with arguments, tales with reasons, asking of questions with telling of opinions, and jest with earnest; for it is a dull thing to tire, and as we say now, to jade any thing too far. As for jest, there be certain things which ought to be privileged from it; namely, religion, matters of state, great persons, any man's present business of importance, and any case that deserveth pity; yet there be some that think their wits have been asleep, except they dart out somewhat that is piquant, and to the quick; that is a vein which would be bridled;

"Parce, puer, stimulis, et fortius utere loris."

And, generally, men ought to find the difference between saltness and bitterness. Certainly, he that hath a satirical vein, as he maketh others afraid of his wit, so he had need be afraid of others' memory. He that questioneth much, shall learn much, and content much; but especially if he apply his questions to the skill of the persons whom he asketh; for he shall give them occasion to please themselves in speaking, and himself shall continually

gather knowledge; but let his questions not be troublesome, for that is fit for a poser; and let him be sure to leave other men their turns to speak: nay, if there be any that would reign and take up all the time, let him find means to take them off, and to bring others on, as musicians use to do with those that dance too long galliards. If you dissemble sometimes your knowledge of that you are thought to know, you shall be thought, another time, to know that you know not. Speech of a man's self ought to be seldom, and well chosen. I knew one was wont to say in scorn, "He must needs be a wise man, he speaks so much of himself:" and there is but one case wherein a man may commend himself with good grace, and that is in commending virtue in another, especially if it be such a virtue whereunto himself pretendeth. Speech of touch towards others should be sparingly used; for discourse ought to be as a field, without coming home to any man. I knew two noblemen, of the west part of England, whereof the one was given to scoff, but kept ever royal cheer in his house; the other would ask of those that had been at the other's table, "Tell truly, was there never a flout or dry blow given?" To which the guest would answer, "Such and such a thing passed." The lord would say, "I thought he would mar a good dinner." Discretion of speech is more than eloquence; and to speak agreeable to him with whom we deal, is more than

to speak in good words, or in good order. A good continued speech, without a good speech of interlocution, shews slowness; and a good reply, or second speech, without a good settled speech, sheweth shallowness and weakness. As we see in beasts, that those that are weakest in the course, are yet nimblest in the turn; as it is betwixt the greyhound and the hare. To use too many circumstances, ere one come to the matter, is wearisome: to use none at all is blunt.

XXXIII. OF PLANTATIONS.

PLANTATIONS are amongst ancient, primitive, and heroical works. When the world was young it begat more children; but now it is old it begets fewer: for I may justly account new plantations to be the children of former kingdoms. I like a plantation in a pure soil; that is, where people are not displanted to the end to plant in others; for else it is rather an extirpation than a plantation. Planting of countries is like planting of woods; for you must make account to lose almost twenty years profit, and expect your recompense in the end: for the principal thing that hath been the destruction of most plantations, hath been the base and hasty drawing of profit in the first years. It is true, speedy profit is not to be

neglected, as far as may stand with the good of the plantation, but no further. It is a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of people and wicked condemned men, to be the people with whom you plant; and not only so, but it spoileth the plantation; for they will ever live like rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, and do mischief, and spend victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certify over to their country to the discredit of the plantation. The people wherewith you plant ought to be gardeners, ploughmen, labourers, smiths, carpenters, joiners, fishermen, fowlers, with some few apothecaries, surgeons, cooks, and bakers. In a country of plantation, first look about what kind of victual the country yields of itself to hand: as chestnuts, walnuts, pine-apples, olives, dates, plums, cherries, wild honey, and the like, and make use of them. Then consider what victual, or esculent things there are, which grow speedily, and within the year; as parsnips, carrots, turnips, onions, radish, artichokes of Jerusalem, maize, and the like: for wheat, barley, and oats, they ask too much labour; but with pease and beans you may begin, both because they ask less labour, and because they serve for meat as well as for bread; and of rice likewise cometh a great increase, and it is a kind of meat. Above all, there ought to be brought store of biscuit, oatmeal, flour, meal, and the like, in the beginning, till bread may be had. For beasts, or birds, take

chiefly such as are least subject to diseases, and multiply fastest; as swine, goats, cocks, hens, turkeys, geese, house-doves, and the like. The victual in plantations ought to be expended almost as in a besieged town; that is, with certain allowance: and let the main part of the ground employed to gardens or corn, be to a common stock; and to be laid in, and stored up, and then delivered out in proportion; besides some spots of ground that any particular person will manure for his own private use. Consider, likewise, what commodities the soil where the plantation is doth naturally yield, that they may some way help to defray the charge of the plantation; so it be not, as was said, to the untimely prejudice of the main business, as it hath fared with tobacco in Virginia. Wood commonly aboundeth but too much; and therefore timber is fit to be one. If there be iron ore, and streams whereupon to set the mills, iron is a brave commodity where wood aboundeth. Making of bay-salt, if the climate be proper for it, would be put in experience: growing silk, likewise, if any be, is a likely commodity: pitch and tar, where store of firs and pines are, will not fail; so drugs and sweet woods, where they are, cannot but yield great profit: soap-ashes likewise, and other things that may be thought of; but moil not too much under ground, for the hope of mines is very uncertain, and useth to make the planters lazy in other things. For government, let it be in the

hands of one, assisted with some counsel; and let them have commission to exercise martial laws, with some limitation; and above all, let men make that profit of being in the wilderness, as they have God always, and his service before their eyes: let not the government of the plantation depend upon too many counsellors and undertakers in the country that planteth, but upon a temperate number; and let those be rather noblemen and gentlemen, than merchants; for they look ever to the present gain: let there be freedoms from custom, till the plantations be of strength; and not only freedom from custom, but freedom to carry their commodities where they may make their best of them, except there be some special cause of caution. Cram not in people, by sending too fast, company after company; but rather hearken how they waste, and send supplies proportionably; but so as the number may live well in the plantation, and not by surcharge be in penury. It hath been a great endangering to the health of some plantations, that they have built along the sea and rivers, in marish and unwholesome grounds: therefore, though you begin there, to avoid carriage and other like discommodities, yet build still rather upwards from the stream, than along. It concerneth likewise the health of the plantation that they have good store of salt with them, that they may use it in their victuals when it shall be necessary. If you plant where savages are, do not

only entertain them with trifles and gingles, but use them justly and graciously, with sufficient guard nevertheless; and do not win their favour by helping them to invade their enemies, but for their defence it is not amiss; and send oft of them over to the country that plants, that they may see a better condition than their own, and commend it when they return. When the plantation grows to strength, then it is time to plant with women as well as with men; that the plantation may spread into generations, and not be ever pieced from without. It is the sinfullest thing in the world to forsake or destitute a plantation once in forwardness; for, besides the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of blood of many commiserable persons.

XXXIV. OF RICHES.

I CANNOT call riches better than the baggage of virtue; the Roman word is better, "impedimenta;" for as the baggage is to an army, so is riches to virtue; it cannot be spared nor left behind, but it hindereth the march; yea, and the care of it sometimes loseth or disturbeth the victory; of great riches there is no real use, except it be in the distribution; the rest is but conceit; so saith Solomon, "Where much is, there are many to consume it; and what hath the owner but the sight of

it with his eyes?" The personal fruition in any man cannot reach to feel great riches: there is a custody of them; or a power of dole and donative of them; or a fame of them; but no solid use to the owner. Do you not see what feigned prices are set upon little stones and rarities? and what works of ostentation are undertaken, because there might seem to be some use of great riches? But then you will say, they may be of use to buy men out of dangers or troubles; as Solomon saith, "Riches are as a strong hold in the imagination of the rich man;" but this is excellently expressed, that it is in imagination, and not always in fact: for, certainly, great riches have sold more men than they have bought out. Seek not proud riches, but such as thou mayest get justly, use soberly, distribute cheerfully, and leave contentedly; yet have no abstract or friarly contempt of them; but distinguish, as Cicero saith well of Rabirius Posthumus, "In studio rei amplificandæ apparebat, non avaritiæ prædam, sed instrumentum bonitati quæri." Hearken also to Solomon, and beware of hasty gathering of riches; "Qui festinat ad divitias, non erit insons." The poets feign, that when Plutus (which is riches) is sent from Jupiter, he limps, and goes slowly; but when he is sent from Pluto, he runs, and is swift of foot; meaning, that riches gotten by good means and just labour pace slowly; but when they come by the death of others (as by the course of inheritance, testaments, and the like), they come

tumbling upon a man: but it might be applied likewise to Pluto, taking him for the devil: for when riches come from the devil (as by fraud and oppression, and unjust means), they come upon speed. The ways to enrich are many, and most of them foul: parsimony is one of the best, and yet is not innocent; for it withholdeth men from works of liberality and charity. The improvement of the ground is the most natural obtaining of riches; for it is our great mother's blessing, the earth's; but it is slow; and yet, where men of great wealth do stoop to husbandry, it multiplieth riches exceedingly. I knew a nobleman in England that had the greatest audits of any man in my time, a great grazier, a great sheep master, a great timber man, a great collier, a great corn master, a great lead man, and so of iron, and a number of the like points of husbandry; so as the earth seemed a sea to him in respect of the perpetual importation. It was truly observed by one, "That himself came very hardly to a little riches, and very easily to great riches;" for when a man's stock is come to that, that he can expect the prime of markets, and overcome those bargains, which for their greatness are few men's money, and be partner in the industries of younger men, he cannot but increase mainly. The gains of ordinary trades and vocations are honest, and furthered by two things chiefly, by diligence, and by a good name for good and fair dealing; but the gains of bargains are of a

more doubtful nature, when men shall wait upon others' necessity: broke by servants and instruments to draw them on; put off others cunningly that would be better chapmen, and the like practices, which are crafty and naughty; as for the chopping of bargains, when a man buys not to hold, but to sell over again, that commonly grindeth double, both upon the seller and upon the buyer. Sharings do greatly enrich, if the hands be well chosen that are trusted. Usury is the certainest means of gain, though one of the worst, as that whereby a man doth eat his bread, "in sudore vultûs alieni;" and besides, doth plough upon Sundays: but yet certain though it be, it hath flaws; for that the scriveners and brokers do value unsound men to serve their own turn. The fortune, in being the first in an invention, or in a privilege, doth cause sometimes a wonderful overgrowth in riches, as it was with the first sugar man in the Canaries: therefore, if a man can play the true logician, to have as well judgment as invention, he may do great matters, especially if the times be fit: he that resteth upon gains certain, shall hardly grow to great riches; and he that puts all upon adventures, doth oftentimes break and come to poverty: it is good, therefore, to guard adventures with certainties that may uphold losses. Monopolies, and coemption of wares for re-sale, where they are not restrained, are great means to enrich; especially if the party have intelligence what things are like to come into

request, and so store himself beforehand. Riches gotten by service, though it be of the best rise, yet when they are gotten by flattery, feeding humours, and other servile conditions, they may be placed amongst the worst. As for fishing for testaments and executorships (as Tacitus saith of Seneca, "Testamenta et orbos tamquam indagine capi,") it is yet worse, by how much men submit themselves to meaner persons than in service. Believe not much them, that seem to despise riches, for they despise them that despair of them; and none worse when they come to them. Be not penny-wise; riches have wings, and sometimes they fly away of themselves, sometimes they must be set flying to bring in more. Men leave their riches either to their kindred, or to the public; and moderate portions prosper best in both. A great state left to an heir, is as a lure to all the birds of prey round about to seize on him, if he be not the better established in years and judgment: likewise, glorious gifts and foundations are like sacrifices without salt; and but the painted sepulchres of alms, which soon will putrefy and corrupt inwardly: therefore measure not thine advancements by quantity, but frame them by measure: and defer not charities till death; for, certainly, if a man weigh it rightly, he that doth so is rather liberal of another man's than of his own.

XXXV. OF PROPHECIES.

I MEAN not to speak of divine prophecies, nor of heathen oracles, nor of natural predictions; but only of prophecies that have been of certain memory, and from hidden causes. Saith the Pythonissa to Saul, "To-morrow thou and thy son shall be with me." Virgil hath these verses from Homer:

> "Hic domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur oris,
> Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis."

A prophecy as it seems of the Roman empire. Seneca the tragedian hath these verses:

> "———— Venient annis
> Sæcula seris, quibus Oceanus
> Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
> Pateat Tellus, Tiphysque novos
> Detegat orbes; nec sit terris
> Ultima Thule:"

a prophecy of the discovery of America. The daughter of Polycrates dreamed that Jupiter bathed her father, and Apollo anointed him; and it came to pass that he was crucified in an open place, where the sun made his body run with sweat, and the rain washed it. Philip of Macedon dreamed he sealed up his wife's belly; whereby he did expound it, that his wife should be barren; but Aristander the sooth-

sayer told him his wife was with child, because men do not use to seal vessels that are empty. A phantasm that appeared to M. Brutus in his tent, said to him, "Philippis iterum me videbis." Tiberius said to Galba, "Tu quoque, Galba, degustabis imperium." In Vespasian's time there went a prophecy in the East, that those that should come forth of Judea, should reign over the world; which though it may be was meant of our Saviour, yet Tacitus expounds it of Vespasian. Domitian dreamed, the night before he was slain, that a golden head was growing out of the nape of his neck; and indeed the succession that followed him, for many years, made golden times. Henry the Sixth of England said of Henry the Seventh, when he was a lad, and gave him water, "This is the lad that shall enjoy the crown for which we strive." When I was in France, I heard from one Dr. Pena, that the queen mother, who was given to curious arts, caused the king her husband's nativity to be calculated under a false name; and the astrologer gave a judgment, that he should be killed in a duel; at which the queen laughed, thinking her husband to be above challenges and duels: but he was slain upon a course at tilt, the splinters of the staff of Montgomery going in at his beaver. The trivial prophecy which I heard when I was a child, and queen Elizabeth was in the flower of her years, was,

"When hempe is sponne
England's done:"

whereby it was generally conceived, that after the princes had reigned which had the principal letters of that word hempe (which were Henry, Edward, Mary, Philip, and Elizabeth), England should come to utter confusion; which, thanks be to God, is verified only in the change of the name; for that the king's style is now no more of England but of Britain. There was also another prophecy before the year of eighty-eight, which I do not well understand.

> "There shall be seen upon a day,
> Between the Baugh and the May,
> The black fleet of Norway.
> When that that is come and gone,
> England build houses of lime and stone,
> For after wars shall you have none."

It was generally conceived to be meant of the Spanish fleet that came in eighty-eight: for that the king of Spain's surname, as they say, is Norway. The prediction of Regiomontanus,

> "Octogesimus octavus mirabilis annus,"

was thought likewise accomplished in the sending of that great fleet, being the greatest in strength, though not in number of all that ever swam upon the sea. As for Cleon's dream, I think it was a jest; it was, that he was devoured of a long dragon; and it was expounded of a maker of sausages, that troubled him exceedingly. There are numbers of the like kind; especially if you include dreams, and predictions of astrology; but I have

set down these few only of certain credit, for example. My judgment is, that they ought all to be despised, and ought to serve but for winter talk by the fireside: though when I say despised, I mean it as for belief; for otherwise, the spreading or publishing of them is in no sort to be despised, for they have done much mischief; and I see many severe laws made to suppress them. That that hath given them grace, and some credit, consisteth in three things. First, that men mark when they hit, and never mark when they miss; as they do, generally, also of dreams. The second is, that probable conjectures, or obscure traditions, many times turn themselves into prophecies; while the nature of man, which coveteth divination, thinks it no peril to foretell that which indeed they do but collect: as that of Seneca's verse; for so much was then subject to demonstration, that the globe of the earth had great parts beyond the Atlantic, which might be probably conceived not to be all sea: and adding thereto the tradition in Plato's Timæus, and his Atlanticus, it might encourage one to turn it to a prediction. The third and last (which is the great one), is, that almost all of them, being infinite in number, have been impostures, and by idle and crafty brains, merely contrived and feigned, after the event past.

XXXVI. OF AMBITION.

AMBITION is like choler, which is a humour that maketh men active, earnest, full of alacrity, and stirring, if it be not stopped: but if it be stopped, and cannot have its way, it becometh adust, and thereby malign and venomous; so ambitious men, if they find the way open for their rising, and still get forward, they are rather busy than dangerous; but if they be checked in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and look upon men and matters with an evil eye, and are best pleased when things go backward; which is the worst property in a servant of a prince or state: therefore it is good for princes, if they use ambitious men, to handle it so, as they be still progressive, and not retrograde, which, because it cannot be without inconvenience, it is good not to use such natures at all; for if they rise not with their service, they will take order to make their service fall with them. But since we have said, it were good not to use men of ambitious natures, except it be upon necessity, it is fit we speak in what cases they are of necessity. Good commanders in the wars must be taken, be they never so ambitious; for the use of their service dispenseth with the rest; and to take a soldier without ambition, is to pull off his

spurs. There is also great use of ambitious men in being screens to princes in matters of danger and envy; for no man will take that part except he be like a seeled dove, that mounts and mounts, because he cannot see about him. There is use also of ambitious men in pulling down the greatness of any subject that overtops; as Tiberius used Macro in the pulling down of Sejanus. Since, therefore, they must be used in such cases, there resteth to speak how they are to be bridled, that they may be less dangerous: there is less danger of them if they be of mean birth, than if they be noble: and if they be rather harsh of nature, than gracious and popular: and if they be rather new raised, than grown cunning and fortified in their greatness. It is counted by some a weakness in princes to have favourites; but it is, of all others, the best remedy against ambitious great ones; for when the way of pleasuring and displeasuring lieth by the favourite, it is impossible any other should be over great. Another means to curb them is, to balance them by others as proud as they: but then there must be some middle counsellors, to keep things steady; for without that ballast the ship will roll too much. At the least, a prince may animate and inure some meaner persons to be, as it were, scourges to ambitious men. As for the having of them obnoxious to ruin, if they be of fearful natures, it may do well; but if they be stout and daring, it may precipitate their designs, and prove dangerous. As for the

pulling of them down, if the affairs require it, and that it may not be done with safety suddenly, the only way is, the interchange continually of favours and disgraces, whereby they may not know what to expect, and be, as it were, in a wood. Of ambitions, it is less harmful the ambition to prevail in great things, than that other to appear in every thing; for that breeds confusion, and mars business: but yet, it is less danger to have an ambitious man stirring in business, than great in dependences. He that seeketh to be eminent amongst able men, hath a great task; but that is ever good for the public: but he that plots to be the only figure amongst ciphers, is the decay of a whole age. Honour hath three things in it; the vantage ground to do good; the approach to kings and principal persons; and the raising of a man's own fortunes. He that hath the best of these intentions, when he aspireth, is an honest man: and that prince that can discern of these intentions in another that aspireth, is a wise prince. Generally, let princes and states choose such ministers as are more sensible of duty than of rising, and such as love business rather upon conscience than upon bravery; and let them discern a busy nature, from a willing mind.

XXXVII. OF MASQUES AND TRIUMPHS.

THESE things are but toys to come amongst such serious observations; but yet, since princes will have such things, it is better they should be graced with elegancy, than daubed with cost. Dancing to song, is a thing of great state and pleasure. I understand it that the song be in quire, placed aloft, and accompanied with some broken music; and the ditty fitted to the device. Acting in song, especially in dialogues, hath an extreme good grace; I say acting, not dancing (for that is a mean and vulgar thing); and the voices of the dialogue would be strong and manly, (a base and a tenor, no treble,) and the ditty high and tragical, not nice or dainty. Several quires placed one over against another, and taking the voice by catches anthem-wise, give great pleasure. Turning dances into figure is a childish curiosity; and generally let it be noted, that those things which I here set down are such as do naturally take the sense, and not respect petty wonderments. It is true, the alterations of scenes, so it be quietly and without noise, are things of great beauty and pleasure; for they feed and relieve the eye before it be full of the same object. Let the scenes abound with light, especially coloured and

varied; and let the masquers, or any other that are to come down from the scene, have some motions upon the scene itself before their coming down; for it draws the eye strangely, and makes it with great pleasure to desire to see that, it cannot perfectly discern. Let the songs be loud and cheerful, and not chirpings or pulings: let the music likewise be sharp and loud, and well placed. The colours that shew best by candle-light, are white, carnation, and a kind of sea-water green; and ouches, or spangs, as they are of no great cost, so they are of most glory. As for rich embroidery, it is lost and not discerned. Let the suits of the masquers be graceful, and such as become the person when the vizards are off; not after examples of known attires; Turks, soldiers, mariners, and the like. Let anti-masques not be long; they have been commonly of fools, satyrs, baboons, wild men, antics, beasts, spirits, witches, Ethiopes, pigmies, turquets, nymphs, rustics, Cupids, statues moving, and the like. As for angels, it is not comical enough to put them in anti-masques: and any thing that is hideous, as devils, giants, is, on the other side, as unfit; but chiefly, let the music of them be recreative, and with some strange changes. Some sweet odours suddenly coming forth, without any drops falling, are, in such a company as there is steam and heat, things of great pleasure and refreshment. Double masques, one of men, another of ladies, addeth

state and variety; but all is nothing, except the room be kept clean and neat.

For justs, and tourneys, and barriers, the glories of them are chiefly in the chariots, wherein the challengers make their entry; especially if they be drawn with strange beasts: as lions, bears, camels, and the like; or in the devices of their entrance, or in bravery of their liveries, or in the goodly furniture of their horses and armour. But enough of these toys.

XXXVIII. OF NATURE IN MEN.

NATURE is often hidden, sometimes overcome, seldom extinguished. Force maketh nature more violent in the return; doctrine and discourse maketh nature less importune; but custom, only, doth alter and subdue nature. He that seeketh victory over his nature, let him not set himself too great nor too small tasks; for the first will make him dejected by often failing, and the second will make him a small proceeder, though by often prevailing: and at the first, let him practise with helps, as swimmers do with bladders, or rushes; but, after a time, let him practise with disadvantages, as dancers do with thick shoes; for it breeds great perfection, if the practice be harder than the use. Where nature is mighty,

and therefore the victory hard, the degrees had need be, first to stay and arrest nature in time; like to him that would say over the four and twenty letters when he was angry; then to go less in quantity: as if one should, in forbearing wine, come from drinking healths to a draught at a meal; and lastly, to discontinue altogether: but if a man have the fortitude and resolution to enfranchise himself at once that is the best:

> "Optimus ille animi vindex lædentia pectus
> Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque semel."

Neither is the ancient rule amiss, to bend nature as a wand to a contrary extreme, whereby to set it right; understanding it where the contrary extreme is no vice. Let not a man force a habit upon himself with a perpetual continuance, but with some intermission: for both the pause reinforceth the new onset; and, if a man that is not perfect be ever in practice he shall as well practise his errors as his abilities, and induce one habit of both; and there is no means to help this but by seasonable intermissions; but let not a man trust his victory over his nature too far; for nature will lie buried a great time, and yet revive upon the occasion, or temptation; like as it was with Æsop's damsel, turned from a cat to a woman, who sat very demurely at the board's end till a mouse ran before her: therefore, let a man either avoid the occasion altogether, or put himself often to

that he may be little moved with it. A man's nature is best perceived in privateness; for there is no affectation in passion; for that putteth a man out of his precepts, and in a new case or experiment, for there custom leaveth him. They are happy men whose natures sort with their vocations; otherwise they may say, "multum incola fuit anima mea," when they converse in those things they do not affect. In studies, whatsoever a man commandeth upon himself, let him set hours for it; but whatsoever is agreeable to his nature, let him take no care for any set times; for his thoughts will fly to it of themselves, so as the spaces of other business or studies will suffice. A man's nature runs either to herbs or weeds; therefore let him seasonably water the one, and destroy the other.

XXXIX. OF CUSTOM AND EDUCATION.

MEN'S thoughts are much according to their inclination; their discourse and speeches according to their learning and infused opinions; but their deeds are after as they have been accustomed: and, therefore, as Machiavel well noteth, (though in an evil-favoured instance,) there is no trusting to the force of nature, nor to the bravery of words, except it be corroborate by custom. His instance is, that for the achieving of a desperate

conspiracy, a man should not rest upon the fierceness of any man's nature, or his resolute undertakings; but take such a one as hath had his hands formerly in blood; but Machiavel knew not of a friar Clement, nor a Ravillac, nor a Jaureguy, nor a Baltazar Gerard; yet his rule holdeth still, that nature, nor the engagement of words, are not so forcible as custom. Only superstition is now so well advanced, that men of the first blood are as firm as butchers by occupation; and votary resolution is made equipollent to custom even in matter of blood. In other things, the predominancy of custom is every where visible, insomuch as a man would wonder to hear men profess, protest, engage, give great words, and then do just as they have done before, as if they were dead images and engines, moved only by the wheels of custom. We see also the reign or tyranny of custom, what it is. The Indians, (I mean the sect of their wise men,) lay themselves quietly upon a stack of wood, and so sacrifice themselves by fire: nay, the wives strive to be burned with the corpse of their husbands. The lads of Sparta, of ancient time, were wont to be scourged upon the altar of Diana, without so much as squeaking. I remember, in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's time of England, an Irish rebel condemned, put up a petition to the deputy that he might be hanged in a wyth, and not in a halter, because it had been so used with former rebels. There be

monks in Russia for penance, that will sit a whole night in a vessel of water, till they be engaged with hard ice. Many examples may be put of the force of custom, both upon mind and body: therefore, since custom is the principal magistrate of man's life, let men by all means endeavour to obtain good customs. Certainly, custom is most perfect when it beginneth in young years: this we call education, which is, in effect, but an early custom. So we see, in languages the tongue is more pliant to all expressions and sounds, the joints are more supple to all feats of activity and motions in youth, than afterwards; for it is true, that late learners cannot so well take the ply, except it be in some minds that have not suffered themselves to fix, but have kept themselves open and prepared to receive continual amendment, which is exceeding rare: but if the force of custom, simple and separate, be great, the force of custom, copulate and conjoined and collegiate, is far greater; for their example teacheth, company comforteth, emulation quickeneth, glory raiseth; so as in such places the force of custom is in his exaltation. Certainly, the great multiplication of virtues upon human nature resteth upon societies well ordained and disciplined; for commonwealths and good governments do nourish virtue grown, but do not much mend the seeds; but the misery is, that the most effectual means are now applied to the ends least to be desired.

XL. OF FORTUNE.

IT cannot be denied but outward accidents conduce much to fortune; favour, opportunity, death of others, occasion fitting virtue: but chiefly, the mould of a man's fortune is in his own hands: "Faber quisque fortunæ suæ," saith the poet; and the most frequent of external causes is, that the folly of one man is the fortune of another; for no man prospers so suddenly as by others' errors. "Serpens nisi serpentem comederit non fit draco." Overt and apparent virtues bring forth praise; but there be secret and hidden virtues that bring forth fortune; certain deliveries of a man's self, which have no name. The Spanish name, "disembol-tura," partly expresseth them, when there be not stonds nor restiveness in a man's nature, but that the wheels of his mind keep way with the wheels of his fortune; for so Livy (after he had described Cato Major in these words, "In illo viro, tantum robur corporis et animi fuit, ut quocunque loco natus esset, fortunam sibi facturus videretur,") falleth upon that that he had "versatile ingenium:" therefore, if a man look sharply and attentively, he shall see Fortune; for though she be blind, yet she is not invisible. The way of fortune is like the milky way in the sky; which is a

meeting, or knot, of a number of small stars, not seen asunder, but giving light together: so are there a number of little and scarce discerned virtues, or rather faculties and customs, that make men fortunate: the Italians note some of them, such as a man would little think. When they speak of one that cannot do amiss, they will throw in into his other conditions, that he hath "Poco di matto;" and, certainly, there be not two more fortunate properties, than to have a little of the fool, and not too much of the honest: therefore extreme lovers of their country, or masters, were never fortunate: neither can they be; for when a man placeth his thoughts without himself, he goeth not his own way. A hasty fortune maketh an enterpriser and remover; (the French hath it better, "entreprenant," or "remuant;") but the exercised fortune maketh the able man. Fortune is to be honoured and respected, and it be but for her daughters, Confidence and Reputation; for those two Felicity breedeth; the first within a man's self, the latter in others towards him. All wise men, to decline the envy of their own virtues, use to ascribe them to Providence and Fortune; for so they may the better assume them: and, besides, it is greatness in a man to be the care of the higher powers. So Cæsar said to the pilot in the tempest, "Cæsarem portas, et fortunam ejus." So Sylla chose the name of "Felix," and not of "Magnus:" and it hath been noted, that

those who ascribe openly too much to their own wisdom and policy, end infortunate. It is written, that Timotheus, the Athenian, after he had, in the account he gave to the state of his government, often interlaced this speech, "and in this Fortune had no part," never prospered in anything he undertook afterwards. Certainly there be, whose fortunes are like Homer's verses, that have a slide and easiness more than the verses of other poets; as Plutarch saith of Timoleon's fortune in respect of that of Agesilaus or Epaminondas: and that this should be, no doubt it is much in a man's self.

XLI. OF USURY.

MANY have made witty invectives against usury. They say that it is pity the devil should have God's part, which is the tithe; that the usurer is the greatest sabbath-breaker, because his plough goeth every Sunday; that the usurer is the drone that Virgil speaketh of:

"Ignavum fucos pecus a præsepibus arcent;"

that the usurer breaketh the first law that was made for mankind after the fall, which was, "in sudore vultûs tui comedes panem tuum;" not, "in sudore vultûs alieni;" that usurers should have orange tawny bonnets, because they do judaize; that it is

against nature for money to beget money, and the like. I say this only, that usury is a "concessum propter duritiem cordis:" for since there must be borrowing and lending, and men are so hard of heart as they will not lend freely, usury must be permitted. Some others have made suspicious and cunning propositions of banks, discovery of men's estates, and other inventions; but few have spoken of usury usefully. It is good to set before us the incommodities and commodities of usury, that the good may be either weighed out, or culled out; and warily to provide, that, while we make forth to that which is better, we meet not with that which is worse.

The discommodities of usury are, first, that it makes fewer merchants; for were it not for this lazy trade of usury, money would not lie still, but would in great part be employed upon merchandizing, which is the "vena porta" of wealth in a state: the second, that it makes poor merchants; for as a farmer cannot husband his ground so well if he sit at a great rent, so the merchant cannot drive his trade so well, if he sit at great usury: the third is incident to the other two; and that is, the decay of customs of kings, or states, which ebb or flow with merchandizing: the fourth, that it bringeth the treasure of a realm or state into a few hands; for the usurer being at certainties, and others at uncertainties, at the end of the game most of the money will be in the box; and ever a state flourish-

eth when wealth is more equally spread: the fifth, that it beats down the price of land; for the employment of money is chiefly either merchandizing, or purchasing, and usury waylays both: the sixth, that it doth dull and damp all industries, improvements, and new inventions, wherein money would be stirring, if it were not for this slug: the last, that it is the canker and ruin of many men's estates, which in process of time breeds a public poverty.

On the other side the commodities of usury are, first, that howsoever usury in some respect hindereth merchandizing, yet in some other it advanceth it; for it is certain that the greatest part of trade is driven by young merchants upon borrowing at interest; so as if the usurer either call in, or keep back his money, there will ensue presently a great stand of trade: the second is, that, were it not for this easy borrowing upon interest, men's necessities would draw upon them a most sudden undoing, in that they would be forced to sell their means, (be it lands or goods), far under foot, and so, whereas usury doth but gnaw upon them, bad markets would swallow them quite up. As for mortgaging or pawning, it will little mend the matter: for either men will not take pawns without use, or if they do, they will look precisely for the forfeiture. I remember a cruel monied man in the country, that would say, "The devil take this usury, it keeps us from forfeitures of mortgages and bonds." The third and last is, that it is a vanity to conceive that there

would be ordinary borrowing without profit; and it is impossible to conceive the number of inconveniences that will ensue, if borrowing be cramped: therefore to speak of the abolishing of usury is idle; all states have ever had it in one kind or rate or other: so as that opinion must be sent to Utopia.

To speak now of the reformation and reglement of usury, how the discommodities of it may be best avoided, and the commodities retained. It appears, by the balance of commodities and discommodities of usury, two things are to be reconciled; the one that the tooth of usury be grinded, that it bite not too much; the other that there be left open a means to invite monied men to lend to the merchants, for the continuing and quickening of trade. This cannot be done, except you introduce two several sorts of usury, a less and a greater; for if you reduce usury to one low rate, it will ease the common borrower, but the merchant will be to seek for money: and it is to be noted, that the trade of merchandize being the most lucrative, may bear usury at a good rate: other contracts not so.

To serve both intentions, the way would be briefly thus; that there be two rates of usury; the one free and general for all; the other under license only to certain persons, and in certain places of merchandizing. First, therefore, let usury in general be reduced to five in the hundred, and let that rate be proclaimed to be free and current; and let the state shut itself out to take any penalty for the

same; this will preserve borrowing from any general stop or dryness; this will ease infinite borrowers in the country; this will, in good part, raise the price of land, because land purchased at sixteen years' purchase will yield six in the hundred, and somewhat more, whereas this rate of interest yields but five: this by like reason will encourage and edge industrious and profitable improvements, because many will rather venture in that kind, than take five in the hundred, especially having been used to greater profit. Secondly, let there be certain persons licensed to lend to known merchants upon usury, at a higher rate, and let it be with the cautions following: let the rate be, even with the merchant himself, somewhat more easy than that he used formerly to pay; for by that means all borrowers shall have some ease by this reformation, be he merchant, or whosoever; let it be no bank, or common stock, but every man be master of his own money; not that I altogether dislike banks, but they will hardly be brooked, in regard of certain suspicions. Let the state be answered, some small matter for the license, and the rest left to the lender; for if the abatement be but small, it will no whit discourage the lender; for he, for example, that took before, ten or nine in the hundred, will sooner descend to eight in the hundred, than give over his trade of usury, and go from certain gains to gains of hazard. Let these licensed lenders be in number indefinite, but restrained to certain prin-

cipal cities and towns of merchandizing; for then they will be hardly able to colour other men's monies in the country: so as the license of nine will not suck away the current rate of five; for no man will lend his monies far off, nor put them into unknown hands.

If it be objected that this doth in a sort authorize usury, which before was in some places but permissive; the answer is, that it is better to mitigate usury by declaration, than to suffer it to rage by connivance.

XLII. OF YOUTH AND AGE.

A MAN that is young in years may be old in hours, if he have lost no time; but that happeneth rarely. Generally, youth is like the first cogitations, not so wise as the second: for there is a youth in thoughts, as well as in ages; and yet the invention of young men is more lively than that of old, and imaginations stream into their minds better, and, as it were, more divinely. Natures that have much heat, and great and violent desires and perturbations, are not ripe for action till they have passed the meridian of their years: as it was with Julius Cæsar and Septimius Severus; of the latter of whom it is said, "Juventutem egit, erroribus, imo furoribus plenam;" and yet he was the ablest

emperor, almost, of all the list: but reposed natures may do well in youth, as it is seen in Augustus Cæsar, Cosmus, duke of Florence, Gaston de Foix, and others. On the other side, heat and vivacity in age is an excellent composition for business. Young men are fitter to invent than to judge; fitter for execution than for counsel; and fitter for new projects than for settled business; for the experience of age, in things that fall within the compass of it, directeth them: but in new things abuseth them. The errors of young men are the ruin of business; but the errors of aged men amount but to this, that more might have been done, or sooner. Young men, in the conduct and manage of actions, embrace more than they can hold; stir more than they can quiet; fly to the end without consideration of the means and degrees; pursue some few principles which they have chanced upon absurdly; care not to innovate, which draws unknown inconveniences; use extreme remedies at first; and that, which doubleth all errors, will not acknowledge or retract them, like an unready horse, that will neither stop nor turn. Men of age object too much, consult too long, adventure too little, repent too soon, and seldom drive business home to the full period, but content themselves with a mediocrity of success. Certainly it is good to compound employments of both; for that will be good for the present, because the virtues of either age may correct the defects of both; and good for succession, that young

men may be learners, while men in age are actors; and, lastly, good for external accidents, because authority followeth old men, and favour and popularity youth: but, for the moral part, perhaps, youth will have the pre-eminence, as age hath for the politic. A certain rabbin upon the text, "Your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams," inferreth that young men are admitted nearer to God than old, because vision is a clearer revelation than a dream: and, certainly, the more a man drinketh of the world, the more it intoxicateth: and age doth profit rather in the powers of understanding, than in the virtues of the will and affections. There be some have an over-early ripeness in their years, which fadeth betimes: these are, first, such as have brittle wits, the edge whereof is soon turned: such as was Hermogenes the rhetorician, whose books are exceeding subtle, who afterwards waxed stupid: a second sort is of those that have some natural dispositions, which have better grace in youth than in age; such as is a fluent and luxuriant speech; which becomes youth well, but not age: so Tully saith of Hortensius, "Idem manebat, neque idem decebat;" the third is of such as take too high a strain at the first, and are magnanimous more than tract of years can uphold; as with Scipio Africanus, of whom Livy saith in effect, "Ultima primis cedebant."

XLIII. OF BEAUTY.

VIRTUE is like a rich stone, best plain set; and surely virtue is best in a body that is comely, though not of delicate features; and that hath rather dignity of presence, than beauty of aspect; neither is it almost seen, that very beautiful persons are otherwise of great virtue; as if nature were rather busy not to err, than in labour to produce excellency; and therefore they prove accomplished, but not of great spirit; and study rather behaviour, than virtue. But this holds not always: for Augustus Cæsar, Titus Vespasianus, Philip le Belle of France, Edward the Fourth of England, Alcibiades of Athens, Ismael, the sophy of Persia, were all high and great spirits, and yet the most beautiful men of their times. In beauty, that of favour, is more than that of colour; and that of decent and gracious motion, more than that of favour. That is the best part of beauty, which a picture cannot express; no, nor the first sight of the life. There is no excellent beauty that hath not some strangeness in the proportion. A man cannot tell whether Apelles or Albert Durer were the more trifler; whereof the one would make a personage by geometrical proportions: the other, by taking the best parts out of divers faces to make

one excellent. Such personages, I think, would please nobody but the painter that made them: not but I think a painter may make a better face than ever was; but he must do it by a kind of felicity, (as a musician that maketh an excellent air in music) and not by rule. A man shall see faces, that, if you examine them part by part, you shall find never a good; and yet altogether do well. If it be true that the principal part of beauty is in decent motion, certainly it is no marvel, though persons in years seem many times more amiable; "pulchrorum autumnus pulcher;" for no youth can be comely but by pardon, and considering the youth as to make up the comeliness. Beauty is as summer fruits, which are easy to corrupt and cannot last; and, for the most part, it makes a dissolute youth, and an age a little out of countenance; but yet certainly again, if it light well, it maketh virtues shine, and vices blush.

XLIV. OF DEFORMITY.

DEFORMED persons are commonly even with nature; for as nature hath done ill by them, so do they by nature, being for the most part, (as the Scripture saith) "void of natural affection;" and so they have their revenge of nature. Certainly there is a consent between the body and the mind,

and where nature erreth in the one, she ventureth in the other: "Ubi peccat in uno, periclitatur in altero:" but because there is in man an election, touching the frame of his mind, and a necessity in the frame of his body, the stars of natural inclination, are sometimes obscured by the sun of discipline and virtue; therefore it is good to consider of deformity, not as a sign which is more deceivable, but as a cause which seldom faileth of the effect. Whosoever hath any thing fixed in his person that doth induce contempt, hath also a perpetual spur in himself to rescue and deliver himself from scorn; therefore, all deformed persons are extreme bold; first, as in their own defence, as being exposed to scorn, but in process of time by a general habit. Also it stirreth in them industry, and especially of this kind, to watch and observe the weakness of others, that they may have somewhat to repay. Again, in their superiors, it quencheth jealousy towards them, as persons that they think they may at pleasure despise: and it layeth their competitors and emulators asleep, as never believing they should be in possibility of advancement till they see them in possession: so that upon the matter, in a great wit, deformity is an advantage to rising. Kings, in ancient times, (and at this present in some countries) were wont to put great trust in eunuchs, because they that are envious towards all are more obnoxious and officious towards one; but yet their trust towards them hath rather been as to good spials,

and good whisperers, than good magistrates and officers: and much like is the reason of deformed persons. Still the ground is, they will, if they be of spirit, seek to free themselves from scorn; which must be either by virtue or malice; and, therefore, let it not be marvelled, if sometimes they prove excellent persons; as was Agesilaus, Zanger the son of Solyman, Æsop, Gasca, president of Peru; and Socrates may go likewise amongst them, with others.

XLV. OF BUILDING.

HOUSES are built to live in, and not to look on; therefore let use be preferred before uniformity, except where both may be had. Leave the goodly fabrics of houses, for beauty only, to the enchanted palaces of the poets, who build them with small cost. He that builds a fair house upon an ill seat, committeth himself to prison: neither do I reckon it an ill seat only where the air is unwholesome, but likewise where the air is unequal; as you shall see many fine seats set upon a knap of ground, environed with higher hills round about it, whereby the heat of the sun is pent in, and the wind gathereth as in troughs; so as you shall have, and that suddenly, as great diversity of heat and cold as if you dwelt in several places. Neither is

it ill air only that maketh an ill seat; but ill ways, ill markets; and, if you will consult with Momus, ill neighbours. I speak not of many more; want of water, want of wood, shade, and shelter, want of fruitfulness, and mixture of grounds of several natures; want of prospect, want of level grounds, want of places at some near distance for sports of hunting, hawking, and races; too near the sea, too remote; having the commodity of navigable rivers, or the discommodity of their overflowing; too far off from great cities, which may hinder business; or too near them, which lurcheth all provisions, and maketh every thing dear; where a man hath a great living laid together; and where he is scanted; all which, as it is impossible perhaps to find together, so it is good to know them, and think of them, that a man may take as many as he can; and, if he have several dwellings, that he sort them so, that what he wanteth in the one he may find in the other. Lucullus answered Pompey well, who, when he saw his stately galleries and rooms so large and lightsome, in one of his houses, said, "Surely an excellent place for summer, but how do you in winter?" Lucullus answered, "Why do you not think me as wise as some fowls are, that ever change their abode towards the winter?"

To pass from the seat to the house itself, we will do as Cicero doth in the orator's art, who writes books de Oratore, and a book he entitles

Orator; whereof the former delivers the precepts of the art, and the latter the perfection. We will therefore describe a princely palace, making a brief model thereof; for it is strange to see, now in Europe, such huge buildings as the Vatican and Escurial, and some others be, and yet scarce a very fair room in them.

First, therefore, I say, you cannot have a perfect palace, except you have two several sides; a side for the banquet, as is spoken of in the book of Esther, and a side for the household; the one for feasts and triumphs, and the other for dwelling. I understand both these sides to be not only returns, but parts of the front; and to be uniform without, though severally partitioned within; and to be on both sides of a great and stately tower in the midst of the front, that, as it were, joineth them together on either hand. I would have, on the side of the banquet in front, one only goodly room above stairs, of some forty foot high; and under it a room for a dressing or preparing place, at times of triumphs. On the other side, which is the household side, I wish it divided at the first into a hall and a chapel, (with a partition between,) both of good state and bigness; and those not to go all the length, but to have at the further end a winter and a summer parlour, both fair; and under these rooms a fair and large cellar sunk under ground; and likewise some privy kitchens, with butteries and pantries, and the like. As for the

tower, I would have it two stories, of eighteen foot high a piece above the two wings; and a goodly leads upon the top, railed with statues interposed; and the same tower to be divided into rooms, as shall be thought fit. The stairs likewise to the upper rooms, let them be upon a fair open newel, and finely railed in with images of wood cast into a brass colour; and a very fair landing-place at the top. But this to be, if you do not point any of the lower rooms for a dining place of servants; for, otherwise, you shall have the servants' dinner after your own: for the steam of it will come up as in a tunnel; and so much for the front: only I understand the height of the first stairs to be sixteen foot, which is the height of the lower room.

Beyond this front is there to be a fair court, but three sides of it of a far lower building than the front; and in all the four corners of that court fair stair-cases, cast into turrets on the outside, and not within the row of buildings themselves: but those towers are not to be of the height of the front, but rather proportionable to the lower building. Let the court not be paved, for that striketh up a great heat in summer, and much cold in winter: but only some side alleys with a cross, and the quarters to graze, being kept shorn, but not too near shorn. The row of return on the banquet side, let it be all stately galleries: in which galleries let there be three or five fine

cupolas in the length of it, placed at equal distance, and fine coloured windows of several works: on the household side, chambers of presence and ordinary entertainments, with some bed-chambers: and let all three sides be a double house, without thorough lights on the sides, that you may have rooms from the sun, both for forenoon and afternoon. Cast it also, that you may have rooms both for summer and winter; shady for summer, and warm for winter. You shall have sometimes fair houses so full of glass, that one cannot tell where to become to be out of the sun or cold. For inbowed windows, I hold them of good use; (in cities, indeed, upright do better, in respect of the uniformity towards the street;) for they be pretty retiring places for conference; and besides, they keep both the wind and sun off; for that which would strike almost thorough the room doth scarce pass the window: but let them be but few, four in the court, on the sides only.

Beyond this court, let there be an inward court, of the same square and height, which is to be environed with the garden on all sides; and in the inside, cloistered on all sides upon decent and beautiful arches, as high as the first story: on the under story, towards the garden, let it be turned to a grotto, or place of shade, or estivation; and only have opening and windows towards the garden, and be level upon the floor, no whit sunken under ground, to avoid all dampishness: and let

there be a fountain, or some fair work of statues in the midst of this court, and to be paved as the other court was. These buildings to be for privy lodgings on both sides, and the end for privy galleries; whereof you must foresee that one of them be for an infirmary, if the prince or any special person should be sick, with chambers, bed-chamber, "antecamera," and "recamera," joining to it; this upon the second story. Upon the ground story, a fair gallery, open, upon pillars; and upon the third story, likewise an open gallery upon pillars, to take the prospect and freshness of the garden. At both corners of the further side, by way of return, let there be two delicate or rich cabinets, daintily paved, richly hanged, glazed with crystalline glass, and a rich cupola in the midst; and all other elegancy that may be thought upon. In the upper gallery, too, I wish that there may be, if the place will yield it, some fountains running in divers places from the wall, with some fine avoidances. And thus much for the model of the palace; save that you must have, before you come to the front, three courts; a green court plain, with a wall about it; a second court of the same, but more garnished with little turrets, or rather embellishments, upon the wall; and a third court, to make a square with the front, but not to be built, nor yet enclosed with a naked wall, but enclosed with terraces leaded aloft, and fairly garnished on the three sides; and cloistered

on the inside with pillars, and not with arches below. As for offices, let them stand at distance, with some low galleries to pass from them to the palace itself.

XLVI. OF GARDENS.

GOD Almighty first planted a garden; and, indeed, it is the purest of human pleasures: it is the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man; without which buildings and palaces are but gross handy-works: and a man shall ever see, that, when ages grow to civility and elegancy, men come to build stately, sooner than to garden finely; as if gardening were the greater perfection. I do hold it in the royal ordering of gardens, there ought to be gardens for all the months in the year, in which, severally, things of beauty may be then in season. For December, and January, and the latter part of November, you must take such things as are green all winter: holly, ivy, bays, juniper, cypress-trees, yew, pine-apple-trees; fir-trees, rosemary, lavender; periwinkle, the white, the purple, and the blue; germander, flag, orange-trees, lemon-trees, and myrtles, if they be stoved; and sweet marjoram, warm set. There followeth, for the latter part of January, and February, the mezereon-tree, which then blossoms;

crocus vernus, both the yellow and the grey; primroses, anemones, the early tulip, the hyacinthus orientalis, chamaïris fritellaria. For March, there come violets, especially the single blue, which are the earliest; the yellow daffodil, the daisy, the almond-tree in blossom, the peach-tree in blossom, the cornelian-tree in blossom, sweet-brier. In April follow the double white violet, the wall-flower, the stock-gilliflower, the cowslip, flower-de-luces, and lilies of all natures; rosemary-flowers, the tulip, the double peony, the pale daffodil, the French honeysuckle, the cherry-tree in blossom, the damascene and plum-trees in blossom, the white thorn in leaf, the lilac-tree. In May and June come pinks of all sorts, especially the blush-pink; roses of all kinds, except the musk, which comes later; honey-suckles, strawberries, bugloss, columbine, the French marigold, flos Africanus, cherry-tree in fruit, ribes, figs in fruit, rasps, vine-flowers, lavender in flowers, the sweet satyrian, with the white flower; herba muscaria, lilium convallium, the apple-tree in blossom. In July come gilliflowers of all varieties, musk-roses, the lime-tree in blossom, early pears, and plums, in fruit, genitings, codlins. In August come plums, of all sorts in fruit, pears, apricots, barberries, filberts, musk-melons, monks-hoods, of all colours. In September come grapes, apples, poppies of all colours, peaches, melocotones, nectarines, cornelians, wardens, quinces. In October and the be-

ginning of November come services, medlars, bullaces, roses cut or removed to come late, hollyoaks, and such like. These particulars are for the climate of London; but my meaning is perceived, that you may have "ver perpetuum," as the place affords.

And because the breath of flowers is far sweeter in the air, (where it comes and goes, like the warbling of music,) than in the hand, therefore nothing is more fit for that delight, than to know what be the flowers and plants that do best perfume the air. Roses, damask and red, are fast flowers of their smells; so that you may walk by a whole row of them, and find nothing of their sweetness; yea, though it be in a morning's dew. Bays, likewise, yield no smell as they grow, rosemary little, nor sweet marjoram; that which, above all others, yields the sweetest smell in the air, is the violet, especially the white double violet, which comes twice a year, about the middle of April, and about Bartholomew-tide. Next to that is the musk-rose; then the strawberry-leaves dying, with a most excellent cordial smell; then the flower of the vines, it is a little dust like the dust of a bent, which grows upon the cluster in the first coming forth; then sweet-brier, then wall-flowers, which are very delightful to be set under a parlour or lower chamber window; then pinks and gilliflowers, especially the matted pink and clove gilliflower; then the flowers of the lime-tree; then the honeysuckles,

so they be somewhat afar off. Of bean-flowers I speak not, because they are field flowers; but those which perfume the air most delightfully, not passed by as the rest, but being trodden upon and crushed, are three, that is, burnet, wild thyme, and water-mints; therefore you are to set whole alleys of them, to have the pleasure when you walk or tread.

For gardens (speaking of those which are, indeed, prince-like, as we have done of buildings), the contents ought not well to be under thirty acres of ground, and to be divided into three parts; a green in the entrance, a heath, or desert, in the going forth, and the main garden in the midst, besides alleys on both sides; and I like well, that four acres of ground be assigned to the green, six to the heath, four and four to either side, and twelve to the main garden. The green hath two pleasures: the one, because nothing is more pleasant to the eye than green grass kept finely shorn; the other, because it will give you a fair alley in the midst, by which you may go in front upon a stately hedge, which is to enclose the garden: but because the alley will be long, and, in great heat of the year, or day, you ought not to buy the shade in the garden by going in the sun through the green; therefore you are, of either side the green, to plant a covert alley, upon carpenter's work, about twelve foot in height, by which you may go in shade into the garden. As for the making of knots, or figures, with divers coloured earths, that they may lie un-

der the windows of the house on that side which the garden stands, they be but toys; you may see as good sights many times in tarts. The garden is best to be square, encompassed on all the four sides with a stately arched hedge; the arches to be upon pillars of carpenter's work, of some ten foot high, and six foot broad, and the spaces between of the same dimension with the breadth of the arch. Over the arches let there be an entire hedge of some four foot high, framed also upon carpenter's work; and upon the upper hedge, over every arch, a little turret, with a belly enough to receive a cage of birds: and over every space between the arches some other little figure, with broad plates of round coloured glass gilt, for the sun to play upon: but this hedge I intend to be raised upon a bank, not steep, but gently slope, of some six foot, set all with flowers. Also I understand, that this square of the garden should not be the whole breadth of the ground, but to leave on either side ground enough for diversity of side alleys, unto which the two covert alleys of the green may deliver you; but there must be no alleys with hedges at either end of this great enclosure; not at the hither end, for letting your prospect upon this fair edge from the green; nor at the further end, for letting your prospect from the hedge through the arches upon the heath.

For the ordering of the ground within the great hedge, I leave it to variety of device; advising,

nevertheless, that whatsoever form you cast it into first, it be not too busy, or full of work; wherein I, for my part, do not like images cut out in juniper or other garden stuff; they be for children. Little low hedges, round like welts, with some pretty pyramids, I like well; and in some places fair columns, upon frames of carpenter's work. I would also have the alleys spacious and fair. You may have closer alleys upon the side grounds, but none in the main garden. I wish also, in the very middle, a fair mount, with three ascents and alleys, enough for four to walk abreast; which I would have to be perfect circles, without any bulwarks or embossments; and the whole mount to be thirty foot high, and some fine banquetting-house with some chimneys neatly cast, and without too much glass.

For fountains, they are a great beauty and refreshment; but pools mar all, and make the garden unwholesome, and full of flies and frogs. Fountains I intend to be of two natures; the one that sprinkleth or spouteth water: the other a fair receipt of water, of some thirty or forty foot square, but without fish, or slime, or mud. For the first, the ornaments of images, gilt or of marble, which are in use, do well: but the main matter is so to convey the water, as it never stay, either in the bowls or in the cistern: that the water be never by rest discoloured, green or red, or the like, or gather any mossiness or putrefaction; besides that,

it is to be cleansed every day by the hand: also some steps up to it, and some fine pavement about it doth well. As for the other kind of fountain, which we may call a bathing pool, it may admit much curiosity and beauty, wherewith we will not trouble ourselves: as, that the bottom be finely paved, and with images; the sides likewise; and withal embellished with coloured glass, and such things of lustre; encompassed also with fine rails of low statues: but the main point is the same which we mentioned in the former kind of fountain; which is, that the water be in perpetual motion, fed by a water higher than the pool, and delivered into it by fair spouts, and then discharged away under ground, by some equality of bores, that it stay little; and for fine devices, of arching water without spilling, and making it rise in several forms (of feathers, drinking glasses, canopies, and the like), they be pretty things to look on, but nothing to health and sweetness.

For the heath, which was the third part of our plot, I wished it to be framed as much as may be to a natural wildness. Trees I would have none in it, but some thickets made only of sweet-brier and honeysuckle, and some wild vine amongst; and the ground set with violets, strawberries, and primroses; for these are sweet, and prosper in the shade; and these to be in the heath here and there, not in any order. I like also little heaps, in the nature of mole-hills (such as are in wild heaths), to be set,

some with wild thyme, some with pinks, some with germander, that gives a good flower to the eye; some with periwinkle, some with violets, some with strawberries, some with cowslips, some with daisies, some with red roses, some with lilium convallium, some with sweet-williams red, some with bear's-foot, and the like low flowers, being withal sweet and sightly; part of which heaps to be with standards of little bushes pricked upon their top, and part without: the standards to be roses, juniper, holly, barberries (but here and there, because of the smell of their blossom,) red currants, gooseberries, rosemary, bays, sweet-brier, and such-like: but these standards to be kept with cutting, that they grow not out of course.

For the side grounds, you are to fill them with variety of alleys, private, to give a full shade; some of them, wheresoever the sun be. You are to frame some of them likewise for shelter, that when the wind blows sharp, you may walk as in a gallery: and those alleys must be likewise hedged at both ends, to keep out the wind; and these closer alleys must be ever finely gravelled, and no grass, because of going wet. In many of these alleys, likewise, you are to set fruit-trees of all sorts, as well upon the walls as in ranges; and this should be generally observed, that the borders wherein you plant your fruit-trees be fair, and large, and low, and not steep; and set with fine flowers, but thin and sparingly, lest they deceive the trees. At the end of both the

side grounds I would have a mount of some pretty height, leaving the wall of the enclosure breast high, to look abroad into the fields.

For the main garden I do not deny but there should be some fair alleys ranged on both sides, with fruit-trees, and some pretty tufts of fruit-trees and arbours with seats, set in some decent order; but these to be by no means set too thick, but to leave the main garden so as it be not close, but the air open and free. For as for shade, I would have you rest upon the alleys of the side grounds, there to walk, if you be disposed, in the heat of the year or day; but to make account that the main garden is for the more temperate parts of the year, and, in the heat of summer, for the morning and the evening, or overcast days.

For aviaries, I like them not, except they be of that largeness as they may be turfed, and have living plants and bushes set in them; that the birds may have more scope and natural nestling, and that no foulness appear in the floor of the aviary. So I have made a platform of a princely garden, partly by precept, partly by drawing; not a model, but some general lines of it; and in this I have spared for no cost: but it is nothing for great princes, that, for the most part, taking advice with workmen, with no less cost set their things together, and sometimes add statues, and such things, for state and magnificence, but nothing to the true pleasure of a garden.

XLVII. OF NEGOCIATING.

IT is generally better to deal by speech than by letter; and by the mediation of a third than by a man's self. Letters are good, when a man would draw an answer by letter back again; or when it may serve for a man's justification afterwards to produce his own letter; or where it may be danger to be interrupted, or heard by pieces. To deal in person is good, when a man's face breedeth regard, as commonly with inferiors; or in tender cases, where a man's eye upon the countenance of him with whom he speaketh, may give him a direction how far to go; and generally, where a man will reserve to himself liberty, either to disavow or to expound. In choice of instruments, it is better to choose men of a plainer sort, that are like to do that, that is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the success, than those that are cunning to contrive out of other men's business somewhat to grace themselves, and will help the matter in report, for satisfaction sake. Use also such persons as affect the business wherein they are employed, for that quickeneth much; and such as are fit for the matter, as bold men for expostulation, fair spoken men for persuasion, crafty men for inquiry and observation, froward and absurd men for business that doth not well bear out itself.

Use also such as have been lucky and prevailed before in things wherein you have employed them; for that breeds confidence, and they will strive to maintain their prescription. It is better to sound a person with whom one deals afar off, than to fall upon the point at first, except you mean to surprise him by some short question. It is better dealing with men in appetite, than with those that are where they would be. If a man deal with another upon conditions, the start of first performance is all: which a man cannot reasonably demand, except either the nature of the thing be such, which must go before: or else a man can persuade the other party, that he shall still need him in some other thing; or else that he be counted the honester man. All practice is to discover, or to work. Men discover themselves in trust, in passion, at unawares; and of necessity, when they would have somewhat done, and cannot find an apt pretext. If you would work any man, you must either know his nature and fashions, and so lead him; or his ends, and so persuade him; or his weakness and disadvantages, and so awe him; or those that have interest in him, and so govern him. In dealing with cunning persons, we must ever consider their ends, to interpret their speeches; and it is good to say little to them, and that which they least look for. In all negociations of difficulty, a man may not look to sow and reap at once; but must prepare business, and so ripen it by degrees.

XLVIII. OF FOLLOWERS AND FRIENDS.

COSTLY followers are not to be liked; lest while a man maketh his train longer, he make his wings shorter. I reckon to be costly, not them alone which charge the purse, but which are wearisome and importune in suits. Ordinary followers ought to challenge no higher conditions than countenance, recommendation, and protection from wrongs. Factious followers are worse to be liked, which follow not upon affection to him with whom they range themselves, but upon discontentment conceived against some other; whereupon commonly ensueth that ill intelligence, that we many times see between great personages. Likewise glorious followers, who make themselves as trumpets of the commendation of those they follow, are full of inconvenience, for they taint business through want of secrecy; and they export honour from a man, and make him a return in envy. There is a kind of followers, likewise, which are dangerous, being indeed espials; which inquire the secrets of the house, and bear tales of them to others; yet such men, many times, are in great favour; for they are officious, and commonly exchange tales. The following by certain estates of men, answerable to that which a great person himself professeth,

(as of soldiers to him that hath been employed in the wars, and the like), hath ever been a thing civil, and well taken even in monarchies, so it be without too much pomp or popularity: but the most honourable kind of following, is to be followed as one that apprehendeth to advance virtue and desert in all sorts of persons; and yet, where there is no eminent odds in sufficiency, it is better to take with the more passable, than with the more able; and besides, to speak truth in base times, active men are of more use than virtuous. It is true, that in government, it is good to use men of one rank equally: for to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them insolent, and the rest discontent; because they may claim a due: but contrariwise in favour, to use men with much difference and election is good; for it maketh the persons preferred more thankful, and the rest more officious: because all is of favour. It is good discretion not to make too much of any man at the first; because one cannot hold out that proportion. To be governed (as we call it), by one, is not safe; for it shews softness, and gives a freedom to scandal and disreputation; for those that would not censure, or speak ill of a man immediately, will talk more boldly of those that are so great with them, and thereby wound their honour; yet to be distracted with many, is worse; for it makes men to be of the last impression, and full of change. To take advice of some few friends is ever honourable;

for lookers-on many times see more than gamesters; and the vale best discovereth the hill. There is little friendship in the world, and least of all between equals, which was wont to be magnified. That that is, is between superior and inferior, whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other.

XLIX. OF SUITORS.

MANY ill matters and projects are undertaken; and private suits do putrefy the public good. Many good matters are undertaken with bad minds; I mean not only corrupt minds, but crafty minds; that intend not performance. Some embrace suits, which never mean to deal effectually in them; but if they see there may be life in the matter, by some other mean, they will be content to win a thank, or take a second reward, or at least, to make use in the mean time of the suitor's hopes. Some take hold of suits only for an occasion to cross some other, or to make an information, whereof they could not otherwise have apt pretext, without care what become of the suit when that turn is served; or, generally, to make other men's business a kind of entertainment to bring in their own: nay, some undertake suits with a full purpose to let them fall; to the

end to gratify the adverse party, or competitor. Surely there is in some sort a right in every suit; either a right of equity, if it be a suit of controversy, or a right of desert if it be a suit of petition. If affection lead a man to favour the wrong side in justice, let him rather use his countenance to compound the matter than to carry it. If affection lead a man to favour the less worthy in desert, let him do it without depraving or disabling the better deserver. In suits which a man doth not well understand, it is good to refer them to some friend of trust and judgment, that may report whether he may deal in them with honour: but let him choose well his referendaries, for else he may be led by the nose. Suitors are so distasted with delays and abuses, that plain dealing in denying to deal in suits at first, and reporting the success barely, and in challenging no more thanks than one hath deserved, is grown not only honourable but also gracious. In suits of favour, the first coming ought to take little place; so far forth consideration may be had of his trust, that if intelligence of the matter could not otherwise have been had but by him, advantage be not taken of the note, but the party left to his other means; and in some sort recompensed for his discovery. To be ignorant of the value of a suit, is simplicity; as well as to be ignorant of the right thereof, is want of conscience. Secrecy in suits is a great mean of obtaining; for voicing them to be in for-

wardness may discourage some kind of suitors; but doth quicken and awake others: but timing of the suit is the principal; timing I say, not only in respect of the person that should grant it, but in respect of those which are like to cross it. Let a man, in the choice of his mean, rather choose the fittest mean, than the greatest mean; and rather them that deal in certain things, than those that are general. The reparation of a denial is sometimes equal to the first grant, if a man shew himself neither dejected nor discontented. "Iniquum petas, ut æquum feras," is a good rule, where a man hath strength of favour: but otherwise a man were better rise in his suit; for he that would have ventured at first to have lost the suitor, will not, in the conclusion, lose both the suitor and his own former favour. Nothing is thought so easy a request to a great person, as his letter; and yet, if it be not in a good cause, it is so much out of his reputation. There are no worse instruments than these general contrivers of suits; for they are but a kind of poison and infection to public proceedings.

L. OF STUDIES.

STUDIES serve for delight, for ornament, and for ability. Their chief use for delight, is in privateness and retiring; for ornament, is in discourse; and for ability, is in the judgment and disposition of business; for expert men can execute, and perhaps judge of particulars, one by one: but the general counsels, and the plots and marshalling of affairs come best from those that are learned. To spend too much time in studies, is sloth; to use them too much for ornament, is affectation; to make judgment wholly by their rules, is the humour of a scholar: they perfect nature, and are perfected by experience: for natural abilities are like natural plants, that need pruning by study; and studies themselves do give forth directions too much at large, except they be bounded in by experience. Crafty men contemn studies, simple men admire them, and wise men use them; for they teach not their own use; but that is a wisdom without them, and above them, won by observation. Read not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find talk and discourse, but to weigh and consider. Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and di-

gested; that is, some books are to be read only in parts; others to be read, but not curiously; and some few to be read wholly, and with diligence and attention. Some books also may be read by deputy, and extracts made of them by others; but that would be only in the less important arguments and the meaner sort of books; else distilled books are, like common distilled waters, flashy things. Reading maketh a full man; conference a ready man; and writing an exact man; and, therefore, if a man write little, he had need have a great memory; if he confer little, he had need have a present wit; and if he read little, he had need have much cunning, to seem to know that he doth not. Histories make men wise; poets, witty; the mathematics, subtile; natural philosophy, deep; moral, grave; logic and rhetoric, able to contend; "Abeunt studia in mores;" nay, there is no stond or impediment in the wit, but may be wrought out by fit studies: like as diseases of the body may have appropriate exercises; bowling is good for the stone and reins, shooting for the lungs and breast, gentle walking for the stomach, riding for the head and the like; so if a man's wit be wandering, let him study the mathematics; for in demonstrations, if his wit be called away never so little, he must begin again; if his wit be not apt to distinguish or find differences, let him study the schoolmen, for they are "Cymini

sectores;" if he be not apt to beat over matters, and to call up one thing to prove and illustrate another, let him study the lawyers' cases: so every defect of the mind may have a special receipt.

LI. OF FACTION.

MANY have an opinion not wise, that for a prince to govern his estate, or for a great person to govern his proceedings, according to the respect to factions, is a principal part of policy; whereas, contrariwise, the chiefest wisdom is, either in ordering those things which are general, and wherein men of several factions do nevertheless agree, or in dealing with correspondence to particular persons, one by one: but I say not, that the consideration of factions is to be neglected. Mean men, in their rising must adhere; but great men, that have strength in themselves, were better to maintain themselves indifferent and neutral: yet even in beginners, to adhere so moderately, as he be a man of the one faction, which is most passable with the other, commonly giveth best way. The lower and weaker faction is the firmer in conjunction; and it is often seen, that a few that are stiff, do tire out a great number that are more moderate. When one of the factions is extin-

guished, the remaining subdivideth; as the faction between Lucullus and the rest of the nobles of the senate (which they called "optimates") held out awhile against the faction of Pompey and Cæsar; but when the senate's authority was pulled down, Cæsar and Pompey soon after brake. The faction or party of Antonius and Octavianus Cæsar, against Brutus and Cassius, held out likewise for a time, but when Brutus and Cassius were overthrown, then soon after Antonius and Octavianus brake and subdivided. These examples are of wars, but the same holdeth in private factions: and, therefore, those that are seconds in factions, do many times, when the faction subdivideth, prove principals; but many times also they prove cyphers and cashiered; for many a man's strength is in opposition; and when that faileth, he groweth out of use. It is commonly seen that men once placed, take in with the contrary faction to that by which they enter: thinking, belike, that they have the first sure, and now are ready for a new purchase. The traitor in faction lightly goeth away with it, for when matters have stuck long in balancing, the winning of some one man casteth them, and he getteth all the thanks. The even carriage between two factions proceedeth not always of moderation, but of a trueness to a man's self, with end to make use of both. Certainly, in Italy, they hold it a little suspect in popes, when they have often in their mouth "Padre commune:" and take it to be

a sign of one that meaneth to refer all to the greatness of his own house. Kings had need beware how they side themselves, and make themselves as of a faction or party; for leagues within the state are ever pernicious to monarchies; for they raise an obligation paramount to obligation of sovereignty, and make the king "tanquam unus ex nobis;" as was to be seen in the league of France. When factions are carried too high and too violently, it is a sign of weakness in princes, and much to the prejudice both of their authority and business. The motions of factions under kings, ought to be like the motions (as the astronomers speak,) of the inferior orbs, which may have their proper motions, but yet still are quietly carried by the higher motion of "primum mobile."

LII. OF CEREMONIES AND RESPECTS.

HE that is only real, had need have exceeding great parts of virtue; as the stone had need to be rich that is set without foil; but if a man mark it well, it is in praise and commendation of men, as it is in gettings and gains: for the proverb is true "That light gains make heavy purses;" for light gains come thick, whereas great come but now and then: so it is true, that small matters win great commendation, because they are

continually in use and in note: whereas the occasion of any great virtue cometh but on festivals; therefore it doth much add to a man's reputation, and is, (as queen Isabella said), like perpetual letters commendatory, to have good forms; to attain them, it almost sufficeth not to despise them; for so shall a man observe them in others; and let him trust himself with the rest; for if he labour too much to express them, he shall lose their grace; which is to be natural and unaffected. Some men's behaviour is like a verse, wherein every syllable is measured; how can a man comprehend great matters, that breaketh his mind too much to small observations? Not to use ceremonies at all, is to teach others not to use them again; and so diminisheth respect to himself; especially they be not to be omitted to strangers and formal natures; but the dwelling upon them, and exalting them above the moon, is not only tedious, but doth diminish the faith and credit of him that speaks; and, certainly, there is a kind of conveying of effectual and imprinting passages amongst compliments, which is of singular use, if a man can hit upon it. Amongst a man's peers, a man shall be sure of familiarity; and therefore it is good a little to keep state; amongst a man's inferiors, one shall be sure of reverence; and therefore it is good a little to be familiar. He that is too much in any thing, so that he giveth another occasion of society, maketh himself cheap. To

apply one's self to others, is good; so it be with demonstration, that a man doth it upon regard, and not upon facility. It is a good precept, generally in seconding another, yet to add somewhat of one's own: as if you will grant his opinion, let it be with some distinction; if you will follow his motion, let it be with condition; if you allow his counsel, let it be with alleging further reason. Men had need beware how they be too perfect in compliments; for be they never so sufficient otherwise, their enviers will be sure to give them that attribute, to the disadvantage of their greater virtues. It is loss also in business to be too full of respects, or to be too curious in observing times and opportunities. Solomon saith, "He that considereth the wind shall not sow, and he that looketh to the clouds shall not reap." A wise man will make more opportunities than he finds. Men's behaviour should be like their apparel, not too strait or point device, but free for exercise or motion.

LIII. OF PRAISE.

PRAISE is the reflection of virtue, but it is as the glass, or body, which giveth the reflection; if it be from the common people, it is commonly false and nought, and rather followeth vain

persons than virtuous: for the common people understand not many excellent virtues: the lowest virtues draw praise from them, the middle virtues work in them astonishment or admiration; but of the highest virtues they have no sense or perceiving at all; but shews and "species virtutibus similes," serve best with them. Certainly, fame is like a river, that beareth up things light and swollen, and drowns things weighty and solid; but if persons of quality and judgment concur, then it is (as the Scripture saith), "Nomen bonum instar unguenti fragrantis;" it filleth all round about, and will not easily away; for the odours of ointments are more durable than those of flowers. There be so many false points of praise, that a man may justly hold it a suspect. Some praises proceed merely of flattery; and if he be an ordinary flatterer, he will have certain common attributes, which may serve every man; if he be a cunning flatterer, he will follow the arch-flatterer, which is a man's self, and wherein a man thinketh best of himself, therein the flatterer will uphold him most: but if he be an impudent flatterer, look wherein a man is conscious to himself that he is most defective, and is most out of countenance in himself, that will the flatterer entitle him to, perforce, "spretâ conscientiâ." Some praises come of good wishes and respects, which is a form due in civility to kings and great persons, "laudando præcipere;" when by telling

men what they are, they represent to them what they should be: some men are praised maliciously to their hurt, thereby to stir envy and jealousy towards them; "Pessimum genus inimicorum laudantium;" insomuch as it was a proverb amongst the Grecians, that, "he that was praised to his hurt, should have a push rise upon his nose;" as we say, that a blister will rise upon one's tongue that tells a lie; certainly, moderate praise, used with opportunity, and not vulgar, is that which doth the good. Solomon saith, "He that praiseth his friend aloud, rising early, it shall be to him no better than a curse." Too much magnifying of man or matter doth irritate contradiction, and procure envy and scorn. To praise a man's self cannot be decent, except it be in rare cases; but to praise a man's office or profession, he may do it with good grace, and with a kind of magnanimity. The cardinals of Rome, which are theologues, and friars, and schoolmen, have a phrase of notable contempt and scorn towards civil business, for they call all temporal business of wars, embassages, judicature, and other employments, sbirrerie, which is under-sheriffries, as if they were but matters for under-sheriffs and catch-poles; though many times those under-sheriffries do more good than their high speculations. St. Paul, when he boasts of himself, he doth oft interlace, "I speak like a fool;" but speaking of his calling, he saith, "Magnificabo apostolatum meum."

LIV. OF VAIN GLORY.

IT was prettily devised of Æsop, the fly sat upon the axle-tree of the chariot-wheel, and said, "What a dust do I raise!" So are there some vain persons, that, whatsoever goeth alone, or moveth upon greater means, if they have never so little hand in it, they think it is they that carry it. They that are glorious must needs be factious; for all bravery stands upon comparisons. They must needs be violent to make good their own vaunts; neither can they be secret, and therefore not effectual: but according to the French proverb, "beaucoup de bruit, peu de fruit;" "much bruit, little fruit." Yet, certainly, there is use of this quality in civil affairs: where there is an opinion and fame to be created, either of virtue or greatness, these men are good trumpeters. Again, as Titus Livius noteth, in the case of Antiochus and the Ætolians, there are sometimes great effects of cross lies; as if a man that negociates between two princes, to draw them to join in a war against the third, doth extol the forces of either of them above measure, the one to the other: and sometimes he that deals between man and man, raiseth his own credit with both, by pretending greater interest than he hath in either: and in these, and the like kinds,

it often falls out, that somewhat is produced of nothing; for lies are sufficient to breed opinion, and opinion brings on substance. In military commanders and soldiers, vain glory is an essential point; for as iron sharpens iron, so by glory, one courage sharpeneth another. In cases of great enterprise upon charge and adventure, a composition of glorious natures doth put life into business; and those that are of solid and sober natures, have more of the ballast than of the sail. In fame of learning the flight will be slow without some feathers of ostentation: "Qui de contemnendâ gloriâ libros scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt." Socrates, Aristotle, Galen, were men full of ostentation: certainly, vain glory helpeth to perpetuate a man's memory; and virtue was never so beholden to human nature, as it received its due at the second hand. Neither had the fame of Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus, borne her age so well if it had not been joined with some vanity in themselves; like unto varnish, that makes ceilings not only shine, but last. But all this while, when I speak of vain glory, I mean not of that property that Tacitus doth attribute to Mucianus, "Omnium, quæ dixerat feceratque, arte quâdam ostentator:" for that proceeds not of vanity, but of natural magnanimity and discretion; and, in some persons, is not only comely, but gracious: for excusations, cessions, modesty itself, well governed, are but arts of ostentation; and amongst those arts there is

none better than that which Plinius Secundus speaketh of, which is to be liberal of praise and commendation to others, in that wherein a man's self hath any perfection: for, saith Pliny, very wittily, "In commending another you do yourself right;" for he that you commend is either superior to you in that you commend, or inferior; if he be inferior, if he be to be commended, you much more; if he be superior, if he be not to be commended, you much less. Glorious men are the scorn of wise men, the admiration of fools, the idols of parasites, and the slaves of their own vaunts.

LV. OF HONOUR AND REPUTATION.

THE winning of honour is but the revealing of a man's virtue and worth without disadvantage; for some in their actions do woo and affect honour and reputation; which sort of men are commonly much talked of, but inwardly little admired: and some, contrariwise, darken their virtue in the shew of it; so as they be undervalued in opinion. If a man perform that which hath not been attempted before, or attempted and given over, or hath been achieved, but not with so good circumstance, he shall purchase more honour than by affecting a matter of greater difficulty, or virtue wherein he is but a follower. If a man so tempe

his actions, as in some one of them, he doth content every faction or combination of people, the music will be the fuller. A man is an ill husband of his honour that entereth into any action, the failing wherein may disgrace him more than the carrying of it through, can honour him. Honour that is gained and broken upon another hath the quickest reflection, like diamonds cut with facets; and, therefore, let a man contend to excel any competitors of his in honour, in outshooting them, if he can, in their own bow. Discreet followers and servants help much to reputation: "Omnis fama a domesticis emanat." Envy, which is the canker of honour, is best extinguished by declaring a man's self in his ends, rather to seek merit than fame: and by attributing a man's successes rather to divine Providence and felicity, than to his own virtue or policy. The true marshalling of the degrees of sovereign honour are these: in the first place are "conditores imperiorum," founders of states and commonwealths; such as were Romulus, Cyrus, Cæsar, Ottoman, Ismael: in the second place are "legislatores," lawgivers; which are also called second founders, or "perpetui principes," because they govern by their ordinances after they are gone; such were Lycurgus, Solon, Justinian, Edgar, Alphonsus of Castile, the wise, that made the "Siete partidas:" in the third place are "liberatores," or "salvatores," such as compound the long miseries of civil

wars, or deliver their countries from servitude of strangers or tyrants; as Augustus Cæsar, Vespasianus, Aurelianus, Theodoricus, King Henry the Seventh of England, King Henry the Fourth of France: in the fourth place are "propagatores," or "propugnatores imperii," such as in honourable wars enlarge their territories, or make noble defence against invaders: and, in the last place, are "patres patriæ," which reign justly and make the times good wherein they live; both which last kinds need no examples, they are in such number. Degrees of honour in subjects are, first, "participes curarum," those upon whom princes do discharge the greatest weight of their affairs; their right hands, as we call them: the next are "duces belli," great leaders; such as are princes' lieutenants, and do them notable services in the wars: the third are "gratiosi," favourites; such as exceed not this scantling, to be solace to the sovereign, and harmless to the people: and the fourth, "negotiis pares;" such as have great places under princes, and execute their places with sufficiency. There is an honour, likewise, which may be ranked amongst the greatest, which happeneth rarely; that is, of such as sacrifice themselves to death or danger for the good of their country; as was M. Regulus, and the two Decii.

LVI. OF JUDICATURE.

JUDGES ought to remember that their office is "jus dicere," and not "jus dare;" to interpret law, and not to make law, or give law; else will it be like the authority claimed by the church of Rome, which under pretext of exposition of scripture, doth not stick to add and alter, and to pronounce that, which they do not find, and by show of antiquity to introduce novelty. Judges ought to be more learned than witty, more reverend than plausible, and more advised than confident. Above all things, integrity is their portion and proper virtue. "Cursed (saith the law) is he that removeth the landmark." The mislayer of a mere stone is to blame; but it is the unjust judge that is the capital remover of landmarks, when he defineth amiss of lands and property. One foul sentence doth more hurt than many foul examples; for these do but corrupt the stream, the other corrupteth the fountain: so saith Solomon, "Fons turbatus, et vena corrupta est justus cadens in causâ suâ coram adversario." The office of judges may have reference unto the parties that sue, unto the advocates that plead, unto the clerks and ministers of justice underneath them, and to the sovereign or state above them.

First, for the causes or parties that sue. "There

be (saith the Scripture) that turn judgment into wormwood;" and surely there be, also, that turn it into vinegar; for injustice maketh it bitter, and delays make it sour. The principal duty of a judge is, to suppress force and fraud; whereof force is the more pernicious when it is open, and fraud when it is close and disguised. Add thereto contentious suits, which ought to be spewed out, as the surfeit of courts. A judge ought to prepare his way to a just sentence, as God useth to prepare his way, by raising valleys and taking down hills: so when there appeareth on either side a high hand, violent prosecution, cunning advantages taken, combination, power, great counsel, then is the virtue of a judge seen to make inequality equal; that he may plant his judgment as upon an even ground. "Qui fortiter emungit, elicit sanguinem;" and where the wine-press is hard wrought, it yields a harsh wine, that tastes of the grape-stone. Judges must beware of hard constructions, and strained inferences; for there is no worse torture than the torture of laws: especially in case of laws penal, they ought to have care that that which was meant for terror be not turned into rigour; and that they bring not upon the people that shower whereof the Scripture speaketh, "Pluet super eos laqueos;" for penal laws pressed, are a shower of snares upon the people: therefore let penal laws, if they have been sleepers of long, or if they be grown unfit for the present time, be by wise judges confined in the

execution: "Judicis officium est, ut res, ita tempora rerum," &c. In causes of life and death judges ought, (as far as the law permitteth) in justice to remember mercy, and to cast a severe eye upon the example, but a merciful eye upon the person.

Secondly, for the advocates and counsel that plead. Patience and gravity of hearing is an essential part of justice; and an overspeaking judge is no well-tuned cymbal. It is no grace to a judge first to find that which he might have heard in due time from the bar; or to show quickness of conceit in cutting off evidence or counsel too short, or to prevent information by questions, though pertinent. The parts of a judge in hearing are four: to direct the evidence; to moderate length, repetition, or impertinency of speech; to recapitulate, select, and collate the material points of that which hath been said, and to give the rule, or sentence. Whatsoever is above these is too much, and proceedeth either of glory and willingness to speak, or of impatience to hear, or of shortness of memory, or of want of a staid and equal attention. It is a strange thing to see that the boldness of advocates should prevail with judges; whereas they should imitate God, in whose seat they sit, who represseth the presumptuous, and giveth grace to the modest: but it is more strange, that judges should have noted favourites, which cannot but cause multiplication of fees, and suspicion of by-ways. There is due from the judge to the advocate some commendation and

gracing, where causes are well handled and fair pleaded, especially towards the side which obtaineth not; for that upholds in the client the reputation of his counsel, and beats down in him the conceit of his cause. There is likewise due to the public a civil reprehension of advocates, where there appeareth cunning counsel, gross neglect, slight information, indiscreet pressing, or an over-bold defence; and let not the counsel at the bar chop with the judge, nor wind himself into the handling of the cause anew after the judge hath declared his sentence; but, on the other side, let not the judge meet the cause half way, nor give occasion to the party to say, his counsel or proofs were not heard.

Thirdly, for that that concerns clerks and ministers. The place of justice is a hallowed place; and therefore not only the bench but the foot-pace and precincts, and purprise thereof ought to be preserved without scandal and corruption; for, certainly, "Grapes, (as the Scripture saith,) will not be gathered of thorns or thistles;" neither can justice yield her fruit with sweetness amongst the briers and brambles of catching and polling clerks and ministers. The attendance of courts is subject to four bad instruments: first, certain persons that are sowers of suits, which make the court swell, and the country pine: the second sort is of those that engage courts in quarrels of jurisdiction, and are not truly "amici curiæ," but "parasiti curiæ," in puffing a court up beyond her bounds for their

own scraps and advantage: the third sort is of those that may be accounted the left hands of courts: persons that are full of nimble and sinister tricks and shifts, whereby they pervert the plain and direct courses of courts, and bring justice into oblique lines and labyrinths: and the fourth is the poller and exacter of fees: which justifies the common resemblance of the courts of justice to the bush, whereunto, while the sheep flies for defence in weather, he is sure to lose part of his fleece. On the other side, an ancient clerk, skilful in precedents, wary in proceeding, and understanding in the business of the court, is an excellent finger of a court, and doth many times point the way to the judge himself.

Fourthly, for that which may concern the sovereign and estate. Judges ought, above all, to remember the conclusion of the Roman twelve tables, "Salus populi suprema lex;" and to know that laws, except they be in order to that end, are but things captious, and oracles not well inspired: therefore it is a happy thing in a state, when kings and states do often consult with judges; and again, when judges do often consult with the king and state: the one, when there is matter of law intervenient in business of state; the other, when there is some consideration of state intervenient in matter of law; for many times the things deduced to judgment may be "meum" and "tuum," when the reason and consequence thereof may

trench to point of estate: I call matter of estate, not only the parts of sovereignty, but whatsoever introduceth any great alteration, or dangerous precedent; or concerneth manifestly any great portion of people: and let no man weakly conceive that just laws, and true policy, have any antipathy; for they are like the spirits and sinews, that one moves with the other. Let judges also remember, that Solomon's throne was supported by lions on both sides: let them be lions, but yet lions under the throne: being circumspect, that they do not check or oppose any points of sovereignty. Let not judges also be so ignorant of their own right, as to think there is not left to them, as a principal part of their office, a wise use and application of laws; for they may remember what the apostle saith of a greater law than theirs: "Nos scimus quia lex bona est, modo quis eâ utatur legitime."

LVII. OF ANGER.

TO seek to extinguish anger utterly is but a bravery of the Stoics. We have better oracles: "Be angry, but sin not: let not the sun go down upon your anger." Anger must be limited and confined both in race and in time. We will first speak how the natural inclination

and habit, "to be angry," may be attempred and calmed; secondly, how the particular motions of anger may be repressed, or, at least, refrained from doing mischief; thirdly, how to raise anger, or appease anger in another.

For the first, there is no other way but to meditate and ruminate well upon the effects of anger, how it troubles man's life: and the best time to do this, is to look back upon anger when the fit is thoroughly over. Seneca saith well, "That anger is like ruin, which breaks itself upon that it falls." The Scripture exhorteth us "To possess our souls in patience;" whosoever is out of patience, is out of possession of his soul. Men must not turn bees;

..... "animasque in vulnere ponunt."

Anger is certainly a kind of baseness; as it appears well in the weakness of those subjects in whom it reigns, children, women, old folks, sick folks. Only men must beware that they carry their anger rather with scorn than with fear; so that they may seem rather to be above the injury than below it; which is a thing easily done, if a man will give law to himself in it.

For the second point, the causes and motives of anger are chiefly three: first, to be too sensible of hurt; for no man is angry that feels not himself hurt; and, therefore, tender and delicate persons must needs be oft angry, they have so many

things to trouble them, which more robust natures have little sense of: the next is, the apprehension and construction of the injury offered, to be, in the circumstances thereof, full of contempt: for contempt is that which putteth an edge upon anger, as much, or more, than the hurt itself; and, therefore, when men are ingenious in picking out circumstances of contempt, they do kindle their anger much: lastly, opinion of the touch of a man's reputation doth multiply and sharpen anger; wherein the remedy is, that a man should have, as Consalvo was wont to say, "telam honoris crassiorem." But in all refrainings of anger, it is the best remedy to win time, and to make a man's self believe that the opportunity of his revenge is not yet come; but that he foresees a time for it, and so to still himself in the mean time, and reserve it.

To contain anger from mischief, though it take hold of a man, there be two things whereof you must have special caution: the one, of extreme bitterness of words, especially if they be aculeate and proper; for "communia maledicta" are nothing so much; and again, that in anger a man reveal no secrets; for that makes him not fit for society: the other, that you do not peremptorily break off in any business in a fit of anger; but howsoever you shew bitterness, do not act any thing that is not revocable.

For raising and appeasing anger in another, it

is done chiefly by choosing of times, when men are frowardest and worst disposed to incense them; again, by gathering (as was touched before) all that you can find out to aggravate the contempt: and the two remedies are by the contraries: the former to take good times, when first to relate to a man an angry business, for the first impression is much; and the other is, to sever, as much as may be, the construction of the injury from the point of contempt; imputing it to misunderstanding, fear, passion, or what you will.

LVIII. OF VICISSITUDE OF THINGS.

SOLOMON saith, "There is no new thing upon the earth;" so that as Plato had an imagination that all knowledge was but remembrance; so Solomon giveth his sentence, "That all novelty is but oblivion;" whereby you may see, that the river of Lethe runneth as well above ground as below. There is an abstruse astrologer that saith, if it were not for two things that are constant, (the one is, that the fixed stars ever stand at like distance one from another, and never come nearer together, nor go further asunder; the other, that the diurnal motion perpetually keepeth time,) no individual would last one moment: certain it is, that the matter is in a per-

petual flux, and never at a stay. The great winding-sheets that bury all things in oblivion are two; deluges and earthquakes. As for conflagrations and great droughts, they do not merely dispeople, but destroy. Phæton's car went but a day; and the three years' drought in the time of Elias, was but particular, and left people alive. As for the great burnings by lightnings, which are often in the West Indies, they are but narrow; but in the other two destructions, by deluge and earthquake, it is further to be noted, that the remnant of people which happen to be reserved, are commonly ignorant and mountainous people, that can give no account of the time past; so that the oblivion is all one as if none had been left. If you consider well of the people of the West Indies, it is very probable that they are a newer, or a younger people than the people of the old world; and it is much more likely that the destruction that hath heretofore been there, was not by earthquakes (as the Ægyptian priest told Solon, concerning the island of Atlantis, that it was swallowed by an earthquake), but rather, that, it was desolated by a particular deluge: for earthquakes are seldom in those parts: but on the other side, they have such pouring rivers, as the rivers of Asia, and Africa, and Europe, are but brooks to them. Their Andes likewise, or mountains, are far higher than those with us; whereby it seems, that the remnants of generations of men

were in such a particular deluge saved. As for the observation that Machiavel hath, that the jealousy of sects doth much extinguish the memory of things; traducing Gregory the Great, that he did what in him lay to extinguish all heathen antiquities; I do not find that those zeals do any great effects, nor last long; as it appeared in the succession of Sabinian, who did revive the former antiquities.

The vicissitude, or mutations, in the superior globe, are no fit matter for this present argument. It may be, Plato's great year, if the world should last so long, would have some effect, not in renewing the state of like individuals, (for that is the fume of those that conceive the celestial bodies have more accurate influences upon these things below, than indeed they have) but in gross. Comets, out of question, have likewise power and effect over the gross and mass of things; but they are rather gazed upon, and waited upon in their journey, than wisely observed in their effects; especially in their respective effects; that is, what kind of comet for magnitude, colour, version of the beams, placing in the region of heaven, or lasting, produceth what kind of effects.

There is a toy, which I have heard, and I would not have it given over, but waited upon a little. They say it is observed in the Low Countries, (I know not in what part) that every five and thirty years the same kind and suit of years and weathers

comes about again; as great frosts, great wet, great droughts, warm winters, summers with little heat, and the like, and they call it the prime: it is a thing I do the rather mention, because, computing backwards, I have found some concurrence.

But to leave these points of nature, and to come to men. The greatest vicissitude of things amongst men, is the vicissitude of sects and religions; for those orbs rule in men's minds most. The true religion is built upon the rock; the rest are tossed upon the waves of time. To speak, therefore, of the causes of new sects, and to give some counsel concerning them, as far as the weakness of human judgment can give stay to so great revolutions.

When the religion formerly received is rent by discords, and when the holiness of the professors of religion is decayed and full of scandal, and withal the times be stupid, ignorant, and barbarous, you may doubt the springing up of a new sect: if then also there should arise any extravagant and strange spirit to make himself author thereof; all which points held when Mahomet published his law. If a new sect have not two properties, fear it not, for it will not spread: the one is the supplanting, or the opposing of authority established; for nothing is more popular than that; the other is the giving license to pleasures and a voluptuous life: for as for speculative heresies, (such as were in ancient times the Arians,

and now the Arminians) though they work mightily upon men's wits, yet they do not produce any great alterations in states; except it be by the help of civil occasions. There be three manner of plantations of new sects; by the power of signs and miracles; by the eloquence and wisdom of speech and persuasion; and by the sword. For martyrdoms, I reckon them amongst miracles, because they seem to exceed the strength of human nature: and I may do the like of superlative and admirable holiness of life. Surely there is no better way to stop the rising of new sects and schisms, than to reform abuses; to compound the smaller differences; to proceed mildly, and not with sanguinary persecutions; and rather to take off the principal authors, by winning and advancing them, than to enrage them by violence and bitterness.

The changes and vicissitude in wars are many, but chiefly in three things; in the seats, or stages of the war, in the weapons, and in the manner of the conduct. Wars, in ancient time, seemed more to move from east to west; for the Persians, Assyrians, Arabians, Tartars, (which were the invaders,) were all eastern people. It is true, the Gauls were western; but we read but of two incursions of theirs: the one to Gallo-Græcia, the other to Rome: but east and west have no certain points of heaven; and no more have the wars, either from the east or west, any certainty of

observation: but north and south are fixed; and it hath seldom or never been seen that the far southern people have invaded the northern, but contrariwise; whereby it is manifest that the northern tract of the world is in nature the more martial region: be it in respect of the stars of that hemisphere, or of the great continents that are upon the north; whereas the south part, for aught that is known, is almost all sea; or, (which is most apparent) of the cold of the northern parts, which is that, which, without aid of discipline, doth make the bodies hardest, and the courage warmest.

Upon the breaking and shivering of a great state and empire, you may be sure to have wars; for great empires, while they stand, do enervate and destroy the forces of the natives which they have subdued, resting upon their own protecting forces; and then, when they fail also, all goes to ruin, and they become a prey; so was it in the decay of the Roman empire, and likewise in the empire of Almaigne, after Charles the Great, every bird taking a feather; and were not unlike to befall to Spain, if it should break. The great accessions and unions of kingdoms do likewise stir up wars: for when a state grows to an overpower, it is like a great flood, that will be sure to overflow; as it hath been seen in the states of Rome, Turkey, Spain, and others. Look when the world hath fewest barbarous people, but such

as commonly will not marry, or generate, except they known means to live, (as it is almost every where at this day, except Tartary,) there is no danger of inundations of people: but when there be great shoals of people, which go on to populate, without foreseeing means of life and sustentation, it is of necessity that once in an age or two they discharge a portion of their people upon other nations, which the ancient northern people were wont to do by lot; casting lots what part should stay at home, and what should seek their fortunes. When a warlike state grows soft and effeminate, they may be sure of a war: for commonly such states are grown rich in the time of their degenerating: and so the prey inviteth, and their decay in valour encourageth a war.

As for the weapons, it hardly falleth under rule and observation: yet we see even they have returns and vicissitudes; for certain it is, that ordnance was known in the city of the Oxidrakes, in India; and was that which the Macedonians called thunder and lightning, and magic; and it is well known that the use of ordnance hath been in China above two thousand years. The conditions of weapons, and their improvements, are, first, the fetching afar off; for that outruns the danger, as it is seen in ordnance and muskets; secondly, the strength of the percussion; wherein likewise ordnance do exceed all arietations, and ancient inventions: the third is, the commodious use of them; as that they

may serve in all weathers, that the carriage may be light and manageable, and the like.

For the conduct of the war: at the first, men rested extremely upon number; they did put the wars likewise upon main force and valour, pointing days for pitched fields, and so trying it out upon an even match; and they were more ignorant in ranging and arraying their battles. After they grew to rest upon number, rather competent than vast; they grew to advantages of place, cunning diversions, and the like; and they grew more skilful in the ordering of their battles.

In the youth of a state, arms do flourish; in the middle age of a state, learning; and then both of them together for a time; in the declining age of a state, mechanical arts and merchandize. Learning hath its infancy when it is but beginning, and almost childish; then its youth, when it is luxuriant and juvenile; then its strength of years, when it is solid and reduced; and, lastly, its old age, when it waxeth dry and exhaust; but it is not good to look too long upon these turning wheels of vicissitude, lest we become giddy: as for the philology of them, that is but a circle of tales, and therefore not fit for this writing.

APPENDIX TO ESSAYS.

I. A FRAGMENT OF AN ESSAY OF FAME.*

THE poets make Fame a monster: they describe her in part finely and elegantly, and in part gravely and sententiously: they say, look how many feathers she hath, so many eyes she hath underneath, so many tongues, so many voices, she pricks up so many ears.

This is a flourish; there follow excellent parables; as that she gathereth strength in going; that she goeth upon the ground, and yet hideth her head in the clouds; that in the day-time she sitteth in a watch-tower, and flyeth most by night; that she mingleth things done with things not done; and that she is a terror to great cities; but that which passeth all the rest is, they do recount that the Earth, mother of the giants that made war against Jupiter, and were by him destroyed, thereupon in anger brought forth Fame; for certain it is, that rebels, figured by the giants and seditious fames and libels, are but brothers and sisters, mas-

* Published by Dr. Rawley in his Resuscitatio.

culine and feminine: but now if a man can tame this monster, and bring her to feed at the hand and govern her, and with her fly other ravening fowl, and kill them, it is somewhat worth: but we are infected with the style of the poets. To speak now in a sad and serious manner, there is not in all the politics a place less handled, and more worthy to be handled, than this of fame; we will therefore speak of these points: what are false fames; and what are true fames; and how they may be best discerned; how fames may be sown and raised; how they may be spread and multiplied; and how they may be checked and laid dead; and other things concerning the nature of fame. Fame is of that force, as there is scarcely any great action wherein it hath not a great part, especially in the war. Mucianus undid Vitellius by a fame that he scattered, that Vitellius had in purpose to remove the legions of Syria into Germany, and the legions of Germany into Syria; whereupon the legions of Syria were infinitely inflamed. Julius Cæsar took Pompey unprovided, and laid asleep his industry and preparations by a fame that he cunningly gave out, how Cæsar's own soldiers loved him not; and being wearied with the wars, and laden with the spoils of Gaul, would forsake him as soon as he came into Italy. Livia settled all things for the succession of her son Tiberius, by continual giving out that her husband Augustus was upon recovery and amendment; and it is an usual thing with the

bashaws, to conceal the death of the Great Turk from the janizaries and men of war, to save the sacking of Constantinople, and other towns, as their manner is. Themistocles made Xerxes, king of Persia, post apace out of Græcia, by giving out that the Grecians had a purpose to break his bridge of ships which he had made athwart Hellespont. There be a thousand such like examples, and the more they are, the less they need to be repeated, because a man meeteth with them every where: therefore let all wise governors have as great a watch and care over fames, as they have of the actions and designs themselves.

[THE REST WAS NOT FINISHED.]

II. OF A KING.

1. A KING is a mortal god on earth, unto whom the living God hath lent his own name as a great honour; but withal told him, he should die like a man, lest he should be proud and flatter himself, that God hath with his name imparted unto him his nature also.

2. Of all kind of men, God is the least beholden unto them; for he doth most for them, and they do ordinarily least for him.

3. A king that would not feel his crown too heavy for him, must wear it every day; but if he

think it too light, he knoweth not of what metal it is made.

4. He must make religion the rule of government, and not to balance the scale; for he that casteth in religion only to make the scales even, his own weight is contained in those characters, "Mene, mene, tekel, upharsin, He is found too light, his kingdom shall be taken from him."

5. And that king that holds not religion the best reason of state, is void of all piety and justice, the supporters of a king.

6. He must be able to give counsel himself, but not rely thereupon; for though happy events justify their counsels, yet it is better that the evil event of good advice be rather imputed to a subject than a sovereign.

7. He is the fountain of honour, which should not run with a waste pipe, lest the courtiers sell the water, and then, as papists say of their holy wells, it loses the virtue.

8. He is the life of the law, not only as he is "lex loquens" himself, but because he animateth the dead letter, making it active towards all his subjects "præmio et pœna."

9. A wise king must do less in altering his laws than he may; for new government is ever dangerous. It being true in the body politic, as in the corporal, that "omnis subita immutatio est periculosa;" and though it be for the better, yet it is not without a fearful apprehension; for he

that changeth the fundamental laws of a kingdom, thinketh there is no good title to a crown, but by conquest.

10. A king that setteth to sale seats of justice, oppresseth the people; for he teacheth his judges to sell justice; and "pretio parata pretio venditur justitia."

11. Bounty and magnificence are virtues very regal, but a prodigal king is nearer a tyrant than a parsimonious; for store at home draweth not his contemplations abroad: but want supplieth itself of what is next, and many times the next way: a king herein must be wise, and know what he may justly do.

12. That king which is not feared, is not loved; and he that is well seen in his craft, must as well study to be feared as loved; yet not loved for fear, but feared for love.

13. Therefore, as he must always resemble Him whose great name he beareth, and that as in manifesting the sweet influence of his mercy on the severe stroke of his justice sometimes, so in this not to suffer a man of death to live; for besides that the land doth mourn, the restraint of justice towards sin doth more retard the affection of love, than the extent of mercy doth inflame it: and sure where love is [ill] bestowed, fear is quite lost.

14. His greatest enemies are his flatterers; for though they ever speak on his side, yet their words still make against him.

15. The love which a king oweth to a weal public, should not be overstrained to any one particular; yet that his more special favour do reflect upon some worthy ones is somewhat necessary, because there are few of that capacity.

16. He must have a special care of five things, if he would not have his crown to be but to him "infelix felicitas."

First, that "simulata sanctitas" be not in the church; for that is "duplex iniquitas."

Secondly, that "inutilis æquitas" sit not in the chancery; for that is "inepta misericordia."

Thirdly, that "utilis iniquitas" keep not the exchequer: for that is "crudele latrocinium."

Fourthly, that "fidelis temeritas" be not his general; for that will bring but "seram pœnitentiam."

Fifthly, that "infidelis prudentia" be not his secretary; for that is "anguis sub viridi herba."

To conclude: (as he is of the greatest power, so he is subject to the greatest cares, made the servant of his people, or else he were without a calling at all.)

He then that honoureth him not is next an atheist, wanting the fear of God in his heart.

III. AN ESSAY ON DEATH.

I HAVE often thought upon death, and I find it the least of all evils. All that which is past is as a dream; and he that hopes or depends upon time coming, dreams waking. So much of our life as we have discovered is already dead; and all those hours which we share, even from the breasts of our mother, until we return to our grand-mother, the earth, are part of our dying days; whereof even this is one, and those that succeed are of the same nature, for we die daily; and as others have given place to us, so we must in the end give way to others. Physicians, in the name of death include all sorrow, anguish, disease, calamity, or whatsoever can fall in the life of man, either grievous or unwelcome: but these things are familiar unto us, and we suffer them every hour; therefore we die daily, and I am older since I affirmed it. I know many wise men that fear to die, for the change is bitter, and flesh would refuse to prove it: besides the expectation brings terror, and that exceeds the evil. But I do not believe, that any man fears to be dead, but only the stroke of death: and such are my hopes, that if heaven be pleased, and nature renew but my lease for twenty-one years more, without asking longer days, I shall be strong enough to acknow-

ledge without mourning that I was begotten mortal. Virtue walks not in the highway, though she go per alta; this is strength and the blood to virtue, to contemn things that be desired, and to neglect that which is feared.

4. Why should man be in love with his fetters, though of gold? Art thou drowned in security? Then I say thou art perfectly dead. For though thou movest, yet thy soul is buried within thee, and thy good angel either forsakes his guard or sleeps. There is nothing under heaven, saving a true friend, who cannot be counted within the number of moveables, unto which my heart doth lean. And this dear freedom hath begotten me this peace, that I mourn not for that end which must be, nor spend one wish to have one minute added to the incertain date of my years. It was no mean apprehension of Lucian, who says of Menippus, that in his travels through hell he knew not the kings of the earth from other men, but only by their louder cryings and tears: which was fostered in them through the remorseful memory of the good days they had seen, and the fruitful havings which they so unwillingly left behind them: he that was well seated, looked back at his portion, and was loth to forsake his farm; and others either minding marriages, pleasures, profit, or preferment, desired to be excused from death's banquet; they had made an appointment with earth, looking at the blessings, not the hand that enlarged them, forgetting how unclothedly they

came hither, or with what naked ornaments they were arrayed.

5. But were we servants of the precept given, and observers of the heathens rule "memento mori," and not become benighted with this seeming felicity, we should enjoy it as men prepared to lose and not wind up our thoughts upon so perishing a fortune: he that is not slackly strong, as the servants of pleasure, how can he be found unready to quit the veil and false visage of his perfection? The soul having shaken off her flesh, doth then set up for herself, and contemning things that are under, shews what finger hath enforced her; for the souls of idiots are of the same piece with those of statesmen, but now and then nature is at a fault, and this good guest of ours takes soil in an imperfect body, and so is slackened from shewing her wonders; like an excellent musician, which cannot utter himself upon a defective instrument.

6. But see how I am swerved, and lose my course, touching at the soul, that doth least hold action with death, who hath the surest property in this frail act; his stile is the end of all flesh, and the beginning of incorruption.

This ruler of monuments leads men for the most part out of this world with their heels forward; in token that he is contrary to life; which being obtained, sends men headlong into this wretched theatre, where being arrived, their first language is that of mourning. Nor in my own thoughts,

can I compare men more fitly to any thing, than to the Indian fig-tree, which being ripened to his full height, is said to decline his branches down to the earth; whereof she conceives again, and they become roots in their own stock.

So man having derived his being from the earth, first lives the life of a tree, drawing his nourishment as a plant, and made ripe for death he tends downwards, and is sowed again in his mother the earth, where he perisheth not, but expects a quickening.

7. So we see death exempts not a man from being, but only presents an alteration; yet there are some men, I think, that stand otherwise persuaded. Death finds not a worse friend than an alderman, to whose door I never knew him welcome; but he is an importunate guest, and will not be said nay.

And though they themselves shall affirm, that they are not within, yet the answer will not be taken; and that which heightens their fear is, that they know they are in danger to forfeit their flesh, but are not wise of the payment day: which sickly uncertainty is the occasion that, for the most part, they step out of this world unfurnished for their general account, and being all unprovided, desire yet to hold their gravity, preparing their souls to answer in scarlet.

Thus I gather, that death is unagreeable to most citizens, because they commonly die intestate: this being a rule, that when their will is made, they

think themselves nearer a grave than before: now they out of the wisdom of thousands, think to scare destiny from which there is no appeal, by not making a will, or to live longer by protestation of their unwillingness to die. They are for the most part well made in this world, accounting their treasure by legions, as men do devils, their fortune looks toward them, and they are willing to anchor at it, and desire, if it be possible, to put the evil day far off from them, and to adjourn their ungrateful and killing period.

No, these are not the men which have bespoken death, or whose looks are assured to entertain a thought of him.

8. Death arrives gracious only to such as sit in darkness, or lie heavy burned with grief and irons; to the poor Christian, that sits bound in the galley; to despairful widows, pensive prisoners, and deposed kings: to them whose fortune runs back, and whose spirits mutiny; unto such death is a redeemer, and the grave a place for retiredness and rest.

These wait upon the shore of death, and waft unto him to draw near, wishing above all others to see his star, that they might be led to his place, wooing the remorseless sisters to wind down the watch of their life, and to break them off before the hour.

9. But death is a doleful messenger to an usurer, and fate ultimately cuts their thread: for it is never

mentioned by him, but when rumours of war and civil tumults put him in mind thereof.

And when many hands are armed, and the peace of a city in disorder, and the foot of the common soldiers sounds an alarm on his stairs, then perhaps such a one, broken in thoughts of his monies abroad, and cursing the monuments of coin which are in his house, can be content to think of death, and, being hasty of perdition, will perhaps hang himself lest his throat should be cut; provided that he may do it in his study, surrounded with wealth, to which his eye sends a faint and languishing salute, even upon the turning off; remembering always, that he have time and liberty by writing, to depute himself as his own heir.

For that is a great peace to his end, and reconciles him wonderfully upon the point.

10. Herein we all dally with ourselves, and are without proof of necessity. I am not of those that dare promise to pine away myself in vain glory, and I hold such to be but feat boldness, and them that dare commit it to be vain. Yet for my part, I think nature should do me great wrong, if I should be so long in dying, as I was in being born.

To speak truth, no man knows the lists of his own patience; nor can divine how able he shall be in his sufferings, till the storm come; the perfectest virtue being tried in action: but I would out of a care to do the best business well, ever keep a guard, and stand upon keeping faith and a good conscience.

11. And if wishes might find place, I would die together, and not my mind often, and my body once; that is, I would prepare for the messengers of death, sickness and affliction, and not wait long, or be attempted by the violence of pain.

Herein I do not profess myself a Stoic, to hold grief no evil, but opinion, and a thing indifferent.

But I consent with Cæsar, that the suddenest passage is easiest, and there is nothing more awakens our resolve and readiness to die, than the quieted conscience, strengthened with opinion that we shall be well spoken of upon earth by those that are just and of the family of virtue; the opposite whereof is a fury to man, and makes even life unsweet.

Therefore, what is more heavy than evil fame deserved? Or, likewise, who can see worse days, than he that yet living doth follow at the funerals of his own reputation?

I have laid up many hopes, that I am privileged from that kind of mourning, and could wish the like peace to all those with whom I wage love.

12. I might say much of the commodities that death can sell a man; but briefly, death is a friend of ours, and he that is not ready to entertain him, is not at home. Whilst I am, my ambition is not to foreflow the tide; I have but so to make my interest of it, as I may account for it; I would wish nothing but what might better my days, nor desire any greater place than the front of good opinion. I make not love to the continuance of days, but

to the goodness of them; nor wish to die, but refer myself to my hour, which the great Dispenser of all things hath appointed me; yet as I am frail, and suffered for the first fault, were it given me to choose, I should not be earnest to see the evening of my age; that extremity of itself being a disease and a mere return into infancy; so that if perpetuity of life might be given me, I should think what the Greek poet said, Such an age is a mortal evil. And since I must needs be dead, I require it may not be done before mine enemies, that I be not stript before I be cold; but before my friends. The night was even now; but that name is lost; it is not now late, but early. Mine eyes begin to discharge their watch, and compound with this fleshly weakness for a time of perpetual rest; and I shall presently be as happy for a few hours, as I had died the first hour I was born.

THE WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS

WRITTEN IN LATIN BY LORD BACON AND

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY

HERMAN MERIVALE

DEDICATION

TO THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

SEEING that without philosophy life itself would be no pleasure to me, I cannot but hold you in the highest honour, from whom this safeguard and solace of my existence has been derived. Therefore, under this name, I profess that I owe to you myself and all that I have: whence it may appear less strange that I should desire to remunerate you with gifts of your own, that by natural movement they may return thither, whence they first drew their origin. And yet, I know not wherefore, there appear but few Vestigia vos retrorsùm spectantia, while innumerable ones proceed from you. Nor, as I think, shall I take too much on myself, if I hope, that on account of the slight use of things which our manner of life and institutions necessarily produce, some small accession may have been made to the discoveries of learned men by these works of ours. Such, indeed, is my opinion, that contemplations, when transferred to active life, acquire no small addition of beauty and vigour: and

that, more copious matter being afforded them, they do perhaps take deeper root, and most certainly arise more lofty and productive. Nor do you (as I think) yourselves know of what wide extent your benefits are, and to how many things they apply. Nevertheless it is just that all should be attributed to you, since every addition is in great part to be attributed to the first elements. Nor will you require from a man full of occupations anything of deep research, or the wondrous effects and prerogatives of leisure; but will attribute it to my great love towards you and yours, that among the thorns of civil affairs these essays have not altogether perished, but are preserved for yourselves as your own property.

PREFACE.

THE antiquities of the first ages (except that part of them which is contained in the sacred writings) are involved in forgetfulness and silence. The silence of early history is followed by the fables of the poets, and to these fables succeed the authentic records which remain to us; so that the mysteries and recesses of antiquity are separated and divided by a veil, as it were, of fables, from the clear and manifest traditions of the following ages—a veil which has interposed itself so as to occupy the middle space between things perished and things extant. I do indeed expect that most men will be disposed to believe that I am engaged in mere trifles of the imagination; and that I assume to myself almost as much license in reducing to allegory these fables, as the original poets allowed themselves in constructing them; which I might lawfully do if I listed, and thereby intermix with more lofty meditations these things, which might conduce to my own pleasure in reflecting, or to that of others in reading. Nor do I forget how tractable the substance of a fable is, so that we may wrest, or even naturally draw, it into any form; and how much power, readiness of wit, and power of *dis-*

course may have, so that interpretations never thought of by the author may be elegantly adapted to his work. I cannot but consider also, how the method which I now propose to myself has been long ago perverted by others. For many writers, wishing to attach the veneration of antiquity to their own inventions and fancies, have attempted to turn the fables of the poets to their own object. A folly which is of old standing and frequent use; not lately invented, or seldom fallen into. For Chrysippus of old, among others, like an interpreter of dreams, used to ascribe stoical opinions to the earliest poets. And the chymists, with still less ingenuity, transferred the fanciful tales of the poets, in their transformations of bodies, to the experiments of the furnace. All these things, I repeat, I have sedulously examined and weighed; I have noted and considered the levity and laxity of men's minds in the admission of allegories; and do not on that account absolutely resign my intention. For, in the first place, never may it happen that the weakness and licentiousness of some writers should detract from the credit of parables in general: for this would savour of profanity and audacity, seeing that religion so much delights in these obscure and shadowy representations, that he who would reject them, almost dissolves the communion between things divine and human. But let us return to human wisdom. I freely and willingly confess that I am inclined to the opinion, that not

a few of the fables of the ancient poets contained from their very origin a hidden mystery and allegory: whether it be that I am led astray by my admiration of that early age, or because I find in some of the fables so great a conformity with the interpretation, so apt and manifest both in the texture of the fable itself, and in the signification of the names with which the characters or actors of the fable are designed and entitled: that no one could consistently deny that such meaning was from the beginning proposed and imagined intentionally by the author, and shadowed forth. For who can be so obstinately blind to evidence, that, when he hears that after the extermination of the giants, Fame was brought forth as a posthumous sister to them, he does not immediately apply the story to those party murmurs and seditious rumours which are wont to spread themselves among a people for awhile after the suppression of rebellions. Or when he hears that the giant Typhon cut away and carried off the sinews of Jupiter, and that they were stolen from him, and restored to Jupiter by Mercury: how can he but perceive immediately, that this is to be referred to powerful rebellions, by which the sinews of kings, their revenue and authority, are cut out; yet not so but that by mildness of address and wisdom of edicts, as it were by stolen means, the minds of subjects within a short time are reconciled, and the power of kings restored to them. Or when he hears

that in that memorable expedition of the gods against the giants, the ass of Silenus became by his braying an instrument of great value in dispersing these giants; must he not clearly see that this was imagined of those vast projects of rebels, which are mostly dissipated by light rumours and vain consternation? And who is there to whom the indications afforded by the adaptation of names can be otherwise than manifest: as μητις, the consort of Jupiter, implies counsel; τυφων, tumidness; παν, the universe; νεμεσις, revenge, and so forth. Nor should it be an obstacle to any one that he may sometimes find some foundation in history, or some ornamental parts, added for the sake of entertainment; or some circumstances of one fable transferred to another, and made subservient to a different allegory. For this must necessarily have taken place, these fables being the invention of men of various ages and different customs, some of whom were ancient, others more modern; some proposed to themselves the illustration of nature, others that of civil society. There is also another not unimportant indication of the existence of a hidden and involved sense; namely, that some of the fables are so absurd and senseless in their outward narration, that they seem to show their nature at first sight, and cry for exposition by means of a parable. A fable which is probable of itself, may be invented merely for pleasure, and for an imitation of history; but that which it could have entered into no man's

head to imagine, or relate, on its own account, must have been intended for other purposes. We may instance such a fiction as the following: That Jupiter took Metis to wife, and as soon as he found her with child, devoured her, became himself with child, and brought forth the armed Pallas by way of his head? I cannot suppose that even a dream so monstrous, and so out of all course of thought, could have occurred to any man whatever. Above all, one consideration has been of great weight and importance with me: that most of the fables of mythology appear by no means to have been invented by those who relate them, such as Homer, Hesiod, and the rest: for were it clearly made manifest to us that they proceeded from that age, and those authors by whom they are celebrated, and thence transmitted to us, we should surely, I conjecture, not have been induced to expect any thing great or lofty from an origin such as this. But he who considers the subject more attentively will discover that they are related to posterity as things already received and believed, not then for the first time imagined and offered to mankind. Moreover, from their being differently related by writers nearly contemporary, it is easy to distinguish between what is common to all, and borrowed from ancient tradition, and what is variously related, and added for the sake of ornament by the several writers. And this it is which has increased their estimation in my eyes, as being neither dis-

covered by the poets themselves, nor belonging to their age, but a kind of sacred relics, the light airs of better ages, which, passing through the traditions of earlier nations, have been breathed into the trumpets and pipes of the Grecians. If any one continues obstinately to maintain that the allegory in a fable is always a subordinate and subsequently introduced part of it, and in no case original and genuine, we will not press hard upon him, but will forgive him that severity of judgment which he affects, though of dull and leaden nature; and will address ourselves to him, if he be worthy of our attention, after another fashion, and on a new score. Two distinct uses of parables have been invented and generally employed among mankind; and, which is more singular, uses contrary to each other. Parables are applied by way of envelopment and obscurity; they are applied also by way of exposition and illustration. And having set aside the former use (in order not to undertake a dispute upon it), and having admitted that our ancient fables are trifles, composed simply for amusement, the second use still remains unquestioned, nor will any subtilty of wit violently wrest us, nor any authority whatsoever, that is but of middling account, prevent us from receiving it without hesitation, as a serious and important study, not only of first-rate utility, but of absolute necessity to science; this method, namely, of seeking an easier and kindlier access to the human intellect, by means

of these fables, in cases of new inventions, and abstruse doctrines, which are far removed from the opinions received among the vulgar. Therefore in ancient times, when the discoveries of human reason, and philosophical conclusions, even such as are now trite and universally known, were yet new and unaccustomed, all sciences were full of fables, enigmas, parables, and similitudes, which were employed for a method of teaching knowledge not artificially, involving it in obscurity: the minds of men being at that time untrained, and impatient of all subtleties which passed the perception of their senses, and almost incapable of receiving them. For as hieroglyphics preceded letters, so did parables philosophical reasoning. And even in this day, if one wish to throw a new light into the minds of men on any subject, and that without harshness and difficulty, he must follow nearly the same road, and betake himself to the assistance of similitudes. Therefore, to put a conclusion to what we have already said: the wisdom of the first ages was either great, or peculiarly fortunate. Great, if the metaphor or analogy was purposely laboured out: fortunate, if men who had their views on other subjects have afforded matter and opportunity to such lofty contemplations. Our own labour, if any part of it chance to have useful results, we shall think not ill laid out on either supposition. Either we shall throw light on antiquity, or on the subjects themselves. Nor can I but be aware that

the same thing has been endeavoured by others; yet, if I may express what I feel, and that with freedom, and not with fastidious criticism, the beauty and value of the study has been almost totally effaced in works like these, although great and laborious in execution; men unskilled in human affairs, and with no learning beyond certain common-places of science, having applied the signification of these parables to some popular and general topics, without ever reaching their true force, their original adaptation, or the more recondite examination of them. We, on the other hand, shall be (unless I deceive myself) new on common subjects, and leaving behind us all that is clear and open to the view, shall address ourselves to higher and richer fields of interpretation.

THE WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS.

I. CASSANDRA, OR FREESPOKENNESS.

THEY relate that Cassandra was beloved by Apollo; and that she eluded his desires by various artifices, still continuing to nourish his hopes, until she had extorted from him the gift of divination: and that when once she had acquired that which had from the beginning been the object of her dissimulation, she openly rejected his addresses. He, being by necessity unable to recall the benefit which he had rashly conferred, and determined not to abide the insult of a crafty woman, added this penalty to his present: that she should continue to predict infallible truth, but that no one should give credit to her words. Thus her prophecies retained their veracity, but lost all belief among men; as she perpetually experienced even in the ruin of her country, of which she had frequently given warning, unattended to, and believed by no man.

The fable appears to be invented with relation to inopportune and useless freedom in giving counsel. For those who are of a rough and pertinacious spirit, and refuse to submit themselves to Apollo, that

is, to the god of harmony, and so to learn the times and measure of things; the various tones, acute and grave, as it were, of words; the discrepancies between the more subtle and less distinguishing case; and, finally, the proper seasons for speaking and for being silent: although they be wise and liberal men, and authors of wholesome and good counsels, yet scarcely ever profit anything by their impetuosity and violence of persuasion, and are of little use in the conduct of affairs: but rather hurry on the destruction of those among whom they fix themselves, and are celebrated not until after the event, as prophets and men gifted with foresight. There is an eminent example of this in the life of Marcus Cato Uticensis, who saw long beforehand, as if standing on an elevated point, the future ruin of his country, first from conspiracy, then from the contentions which followed between Cæsar and Pompey, and did most oracularly predict it; but advantaged the state in nothing in the mean time, or rather was in its way, and accelerated its downfall. This was wisely observed and elegantly described by Cicero, who wrote thus to his friend: "Cato holds excellent opinions, but does sometimes mischief to the republic; for he speaks as though he were in the republic of Plato, not among the dregs of Romulus."

II. TYPHON, OR THE REBEL.

THE poets narrate that Juno, indignant that Jupiter had brought forth Pallas of himself, without her, wearied all the gods and goddesses with praying that she too might produce a child without Jupiter. That when they had at length consented, through the violence of her importunities, she caused an earthquake; from which disturbance Typhon arose, a vast and hideous monster. He was given to a serpent for nurse, that he might receive nourishment from it; and he had no sooner attained the age of manhood than he excited a war against Jupiter. In this tumult Jupiter fell into the hands of the giant, who carried him on his shoulders into a distant and shadowy region, where he cut out the sinews of his hands and feet, and, carrying them off with him, left the god lame and mutilated. Mercury, however, stole back the sinews from Typhon, and brought them to Jupiter; who, being restored to strength, attacked the monster, and first wounded him with a thunderbolt, from the blood of which first serpents were born. Finally, in his flight and confusion, Jupiter hurled Ætna at him, and pressed him down with the mass of the mountain.

The fable is invented of the varying fortune of

kings, and the rebellions which are wont to arise from time to time in monarchies. For kings are rightly understood to be united to their kingdoms, as Jupiter to Juno by the yoke of matrimony; but it sometimes happens that through the depravation incident on long habit of reigning, they incline to tyranny, and in contempt of the assistance of the orders and the senate, bring forth of themselves: that is, administer empire by their own will and absolute power. This the people bear ill, and exert themselves to create some head of affairs from their body, and raise it to preeminence. This is effected at first by secret solicitation of the nobles and chieftains, after whose connivance a rising of the people is at length excited; from which a *tumid* state of things, (signified by the infancy of Typhon) takes place. This condition of the kingdom is nourished by the natural depravity and malignity of the people (that serpent which is most hostile to kings). Sedition being now increased in strength, the troubles break out at length into open rebellion: which inflicts infinite evils on kings and people, and is therefore represented under that hideous image of Typhon, in which the hundred heads represent the divided powers; the burning countenance, the devastations by fire; the belt of snakes, the pestilential diseases (which particularly ensue on sieges); the iron hands, the massacres; the eagle's talons, the plundering; the body covered with feathers, the variable rumours, reports, fears, and so forth. And

sometimes these rebellions acquire so great force, that the kings are forcibly carried away, as it were, by the rebels, compelled to leave their seat of empire and chief cities, contract their force, and withdraw themselves into some obscure province of their realm, the sinews of their revenue and majesty being cut away: yet, bearing with wisdom their evil fortune, they soon recover their sinews through the fidelity and prudence of Mercury; that is become mild and temperate, and using prudent edicts and lenient addresses, effect a reconciliation with the spirits and good will of their subjects, and excite their alacrity in contributing towards the expenses of the monarch and the increased vigour of his government. Nevertheless the kings, become cautious and experienced, refuse for the most part to try the chance of fortune, and abstain from battle, studying in the meanwhile how to overthrow the reputation of the rebels by some notable action. If this succeeds to their wish, the rebels, conscious of the wound they have received, and trembling for their power, first issue vain and broken threats, like the hisses of serpents, then, despairing of success, betake themselves to flight. And then, at last, when their ruin is begun, it is safe and seasonable for kings, armed with all their forces, and all the mass of their kingdom, as with the weight of Mount Ætna, to pursue and overwhelm them.

III. THE CYCLOPES, OR MINISTERS OF TERROR.

THE Cyclopes are said to have been first thrust down into Tartarus for their cruelty and ferocity, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment by Jupiter: but that afterwards Tellus (the Earth) persuaded him, that he might find it not unprofitable to free them from their chains, and make use of their powers for the fabrication of his thunderbolts. Which being done, they set about forging the thunderbolts, and other instruments of terror, with zeal and industry, in constant labour and incessant noise. In the course of time it came to pass that Jupiter became wroth with Æsculapius, the son of Apollo, for resuscitating a dead man by art of medicine: but concealing his anger (as there was little just cause of indignation in an act so notable and benevolent), he secretly instigated the Cyclopes to attack him; and they without delay slew him with their thunderbolt. In revenge of which action, Apollo, without being opposed of Jupiter, put them to death with his arrows.

The fable is to be interpreted of the actions of princes. These are wont at first to remove from authority fierce and sanguinary officers, and oppression, and inflict punishments on them. After-

wards, counselled by Earth, (that is, by ignoble and dishonourable counsel) the hope of advantage prevailing, they again employ them where they have need of severe executions or oppressive extortions. Fierce as they are by nature, and still exasperated by their former treatment, and well knowing what is expected of them, they shew wonderful diligence in affairs of this kind; but being incautious, and too precipitately bent upon seeking and obtaining favour, they, at length, are incited by secret hints and obscure mandates of their princes to perform some unpopular act of severity. The princes avoiding the odium of the crime, and being well aware that there will never be a scarcity of such instruments, desert their adherents, and turn them over to the relations and friends of those who have suffered, leaving them to their insults and hate, and the vengeance of the people: until with the applause of all, and among the wishes and acclamations of the populace for their sovereign, they perish by a fate rather late than undeserved.

IV. NARCISSUS, OR SELF-LOVE.

NARCISSUS is said to have possessed admirable beauty of countenance and figure, but coupled with great pride and intolerable affectation. Being pleased only with himself and con-

temning others, he led a solitary life among woods and in the chace, at the head of a few companions, to whom he was himself everything. He was followed too everywhere by the nymph Echo. Living in this manner, his fate one day led him to arrive at a limpid fountain, and to lay down to rest by the side of it in the heat of mid-day. But as soon as he had beheld his own image in the water, first indulging in the vision, and at length entirely absorbed and rapt in admiration of himself, he could by no means whatever be dragged from this spectacle; but languished in fixed contemplation, and was at length changed into a flower bearing his own name, which appears early in the spring, and is sacred to the infernal gods, Pluto, Proserpine, and the Furies.

The fable seems to represent the character and fortune of those, who, whether on account of their personal beauty, or of other possessions, with which nature alone, unaided by their proper industry, has decked and signalized them, fall desperately in love with themselves, and as it were languish away in self-love. For such a state of mind is usually found united with a reluctance to mix with the public, or to be engaged in business, because, by so occupying themselves, they must necessarily subject themselves to slights and disesteem among men, which would deject and disturb the tranquillity of their minds. Thus they generally lead a solitary, private, and obscure life, with a small

company of friends, composed of such as appear peculiarly to honour and admire them, and assent to all their remarks with the voice of echo; and pay them all manner of homage in their words. Depraved and inflated by continuance in this condition, and at length stupified by constant admiration of themselves, they fall so entirely under the influence of a strange indolence and listlessness, that they fall into utter torpor, and become deprived of all vigour and alacrity of mind. The spring flower is an elegant emblem of such spirits as these, spirits which flourish and are admired in their early season, but disappoint and frustrate the hopes conceived of them, when they arrive at full age. With the same meaning, it is said that this flower is sacred to the infernal gods, because men of this stamp are entirely useless for every purpose. Moreover, whatever produces no fruit of itself, but passes and vanishes away like the path of a ship on the ocean, was by the ancients usually consecrated to the shades and infernal gods.

V. STYX, OR TREATIES.

THIS is a very common history, which is introduced into many fables, concerning that one oath by which the infernal gods were wont to bind themselves, when they wished to have no

room whatever left for repentance. This oath invoked and called to witness no celestial majesty, no attribute of the divinity, but Styx, a certain river of the infernal regions, which was said to surround the palace of Dis, with many intricate windings. This form of oath alone and no other (besides it) was held to be sacred and inviolable: for the punishment imposed on the violators of it was one chiefly dreaded by the gods, namely, that he who had failed in his oath should not approach the banquets of the gods for a certain interval of years.

This fable appears to have been invented of the treaties and compacts of princes; among whom it is far too true, that treaties, by whatever solemnity and sacred observance they may be fortified, are of little durability, even so as to be generally entered into merely for the sake of reputation and fair appearances, and for ceremony rather than for truth and effective security. Even if the ties of relationship happen to be added, those sanctions as it were of nature, yet among most it is found that everything is postponed to ambition, and the hope of advantage, and the license of supreme dominion: so much the more so, because it is easy for princes to disguise and defend by various and specious pretexts, their cupidity and insincerity, there being no controller above them, to whom account must be rendered. Therefore there is only one received, true, and real security for good faith,

and that no celestial divinity: this is necessity, a great god among the powerful, and public danger, and community of advantage. Necessity is elegantly represented by Styx, that fatal and irremeable river. This was the godhead invoked by Iphicrates, whose sentiments, since he was bold enough openly to say what most resolve silently in their minds, it may not be amiss to relate in his own words. He, observing that the Lacedæmonians were imagining to propose various cautions and sanctions, and securities and bonds of treaty, interrupting them, said, "There can be one only sanction and ground of security between us and you, O Lacedæmonians; namely, your plainly demonstrating to us, that you have made such concessions, and given such securities, that your power would not suffice to injure us if your will were ever so great towards it." Thus, if the power of doing injury be taken away, or if, upon violation of the treaty, danger of dissolution, or diminution, or of loss to the revenue ensues to the violator, then only are treaties to be accounted sacred, and confirmed by an oath similar to that of Styx: the fear being at hand of that interdict and suspension from the banquets of the gods: under which name the rights and prerogatives of dominion, and riches, and felicity, were expressed by the ancients.

VI. PAN, OR NATURE.

THE ancients were industrious to describe the universal nature under the person of Pan. His origin they left doubtful. Some assert that he was sprung from Mercury; others give him an entirely different birth, for they affirm that all the suitors of Penelope were connected with her, and that from this promiscuous connexion Pan, their common son, was born. And in this late invented relation, without doubt, some of the more modern authors introduced the name of Penelope into an ancient fable, as they frequently do when they transfer older histories to later names and characters, and that sometimes in an absurd and inelegant manner, as may be seen in this instance, since Pan was one of the most ancient deities, and far earlier than the time of Ulysses, and Penelope was peculiarly venerated by antiquity for her matronly chastity. Nor must we pass over the third explanation of his origin: for some have published that he was the son of Jupiter and Hybris, that is, insolence. But however he was born, the Fates are said to have been his sisters. The image of Pan is thus described by the ancients: he is horned, with his horns pointed even up to Heaven, rough and hairy over his whole body, and with a long flowing beard:

his figure is double, human in the upper part, but half bestial, and ending in the feet of a goat. He bore the ensigns of power, in his left hand the pipe composed of seven reeds; in his right the crook, or piece of wood curved and bent in at the top, and was clothed in a cloak of leopard's skin. The following powers and offices are attributed to him: he is the god of huntsmen, shepherds, and countrymen in general; the presiding genius of mountains, and, next to Mercury, the messenger of the gods. He was also held to be the leader and commander of the nymphs, who were wont perpetually to form their dances and revels around him, accompanied by the Satyrs, and the older Sileni. He had also the power of inflicting terrors, especially empty and superstitious ones, which are called from him panic. The actions recounted of him are not many; the chief, that he challenged Cupid in wrestling, and was by him overthrown in the contest. He also caught and held down the giant Typhon in a net; and it is said, moreover, that when Ceres had hid herself through grief and indignation for the loss of Proserpine, and all the gods had diligently applied themselves to the search of her, and separated themselves various ways, Pan alone had, by accident, the fortune to find her in hunting, and indicate her to the rest. He dared also to contend with Apollo for the prize of music, and was preferred above him by the judge Midas: for which judgment Midas bore asses' ears, but kept them

secret and under cover. There are no amours of Pan related, or at least very few, which seems a very singular circumstance, among a crowd of gods so profusely amorous. It is only said of him, that he loved the nymph Echo, who was also held as his wife: and was inflamed also for a nymph by name Syringa, to whose love he was impelled by the anger and revenge of Cupid, whom he had challenged to wrestle. Nor did he beget any offspring (which is equally singular, since the gods, and especially the male ones, had abundance of children) except that a certain maidwoman, called Iambe, is given him for a daughter, who was wont to entertain her guests with ludicrous stories; and is thought by some to have been his child by his wife Echo. This is a noble fable, if any of them be so; weighty and as it were distended with the arcana and mysteries of nature.

Pan (as his very name already intimates) represents and expresses the universe of nature. Of his origin there are two totally different opinions; and so it may be: either he comes from Mercury, that is, the divine Word, (which not only the sacred Scriptures place beyond all controversy, but which was also the opinion of those philosophers who were held most divine) or from the confused seeds of things. For those who have maintained a single principle of things, either have referred it to God, or if they have upheld a material principle, have represented it as possessing a divided

power: so that all controversy of this nature may be referred to this division, that the universe is sprung either from Mercury or from all the suitors.

> Namque canebat, uti magnum per inane coacta
> Semina terrarumque animæque marisque fuissent,
> Et liquidi simul ignis; et his exordia primis
> Omnia, et ipse tener mundi concreverit orbis.

The third origin of Pan is of such a nature that the Greeks must be thought to have imbibed somewhat of the mysteries of the Hebrews, either through the Egyptians, or by some other passage; for it relates to the state of the world, not in its mere birth, but in its condition after the fall of Adam, when become subject and exposed to death and corruption. For that state was and is the offspring of God and sin. Thus all these three relations of the generation of Pan may be considered true, if they be rightly distinguished in matter and according to time: for this Pan, who is before our eyes, and whom we worship far more than we ought to do, hath his origin from the word of God, through the medium of confused matter, and subsequently influenced by depravation and corruption. To the nature of things the fates of things are with justice accounted and denominated sisters; since the chains of natural causes draw with them the birth of things, their duration, their death, their depressions, their elevations, their labours, their fortunes, and all the fates which can influence things. The world is provided with horns, because horns of this

kind are broad at bottom and taper to the top. For the entire nature of things is taper like a pyramid. The individuals are infinite: these are collected into species, which are multiplex and numerous. The species again rise into genera, and these by a further ascent are contracted into still higher genera, so that nature seems to meet as into one point. No wonder that the horns of Pan should strike heaven; seeing that the summits of nature, or universal ideas, reach in a certain manner even to heaven. For the transit is easy and short from metaphysics to natural theology. Moreover, the body of nature is with great elegance and truth depicted hairy, on account of the rays of things: for the rays are as it were the hairs or bristles of nature; and almost all things do, more or less, emit rays, as is most evident from the faculty of sight, and not less so from every influence and operation which creates effects at a distance, for everything which operates at a distance may be rightly said to emit rays; but the beard of Pan is prominent beyond all, because the rays of celestial bodies operate and penetrate from the greatest distance. And the sun, too, at such time as a cloud conceals his upper part, while the rays break out from below, appears to the sight bearded. Also, the body of nature is most rightly described as biform, on account of the difference of superior and inferior bodies. The former on account of their beauty, the equability, and constancy of their

motion, as well as for their dominion over the earth and things of the earth, deserve to be represented under the human form: the latter for their irregularities and unharmonious motions, and because they are governed by the celestial, may be content with the figure of a brute animal. The same description of his body relates also to the participation of species. For no nature can be considered simple, but as it were a composition partaking of two principles. Thus the man has something of the brute, the brute of the plant, the plant of the inanimate (unorganized) body, and all things are in fact biform, and composed of an inferior and superior species. The allegory of the feet of the goat is a most acute one, on account of the ascending motion of terrestrial bodies towards the regions of the air and heavens: for the goat is a climbing animal, and loves to hang from rocks and haunt among the precipices, as substances although destined for the inferior globe do in a strange manner, as is most evident in clouds and meteors. The insignia in the hands of Pan are two-fold, the one of harmony, the other of empire. The pipe of seven reeds evidently shews the concert and harmony of things, or that concord mixed with discord which is effected by the motion of the seven wandering stars. The crook is a noble metaphor, by reason of the ways of nature, which are partly straight and partly oblique. Especially, the stick or rod is crooked in its upper part, because the

works of Divine Providence in the world are for the most part carried on by inflexions and *ambages;* so that one thing appears to be doing, while another is, in fact, done; as the selling of Joseph into Egypt, and such like events. Moreover, in every well conducted human government those who sit at the helm more happily bring to pass and insinuate the measures of popular convenience which they wish to carry into effect by means of assigned reasons, and oblique ways, than by direct introduction, so that every rod or sceptre of empire is, in fact, crooked at the top. The vest or cloak of Pan is very ingeniously represented to have been of leopard's skin, on account of the spots which are scattered over it: for the heaven is studded with stars, the seas with islands, the earth with flowers, and even individual objects are for the most part varied on the superfices, which is, as it were, the vest of things. The office of Pan could not be so lively represented and explained by any other means, as by naming him the god of huntsmen; since every natural action, motion, and progress is nothing more than a chase. Thus the sciences and arts hunt after their objects, the counsels of men after their ends, and all natural things hunt either after their nourishment for prey or their pleasures for indulgence, and that with cunning and sagacity.

Torva leæna lupum sequitur; lupus ipsę capellam;
Florentem cytisum sequitur lasciva capella.

Pan is also the god of countrymen in general,

because such men live more according to Nature, which is corrupted by excess of civilization in cities and palaces, to that point that the love verse of the poet becomes true:

—— Pars minima est ipsa puella sui.

Pan is especially the presider over mountains, because in mountains and lofty places the nature of things is expanded and more effectually subjected to the vision and imagination. That Pan is the second messenger of the gods after Mercury, is plainly a divine allegory; since, next to the word of God, the image of the universe itself is the masterpiece of divine wisdom. As the celestial poet hath sung, The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth his handiwork. —Pan delights himself in the nymphs; that is in souls, for the souls of the living are the beauty of the world: and he is with justice called their governor, as they follow each its own nature as a guide, and dance and lead their revels around it with unceasing motion, infinite variety, each as it were after the manner of its own country. Together with them the Satyrs and Sileni perpetually accompany him; age, namely, and youth: for to all things there is one age, as it were, cheerful and active; another, slow, and gluttonous: and the studies equally of both ages, to one who truly contemplates them with the spirit of Democritus, will appear ridiculous and deformed, like a Satyr or

Silenus. In panic terrors, a most wise doctrine is expounded. For fear and dread is instilled by the nature of the universe into all living things, as a preservation power to preserve their life and existence, and to avoid and drive off coming evils: but this same nature preserves no just measures, but ever mixes with salutary fears, vain and empty ones, so that all things, could we but see their internal reality, are full of panic terrors; especially human things, which labour under the infinite weight of superstition (which is, in truth, nothing but a panic terror), especially in difficult times of adversity. What is narrated of the boldness of Pan, and his battle by challenge with Cupid, relates to this: that matter is not destitute of a certain propensity and appetite towards the dissolving of the universe and its falling back into the ancient chaos, were it not that by the overpowering concord of things, (signified by Love or Cupid) its malice and violence are restrained and compelled to order; therefore it is by a happy destiny of man and of things, that Pan finds the issue of the contest adverse and departs conquered. To this too belongs the story of the catching Typhon in a net; because by various means there occur diverse swellings of things (as is signified by the name Typhon), whether of the seas or clouds, or other things, but Nature with an irresistible net implicates and subdues these exuberances and perversities of matter, and binds it as with adamantine fetters. That the discovery of

Ceres is attributed to this god, and that in hunting, and is refused to the other gods, although seeking her earnestly, and employed on that very pursuit, contains a true and prudent admonition, that the invention of things useful for life and cultivation is not to be sought for from abstract philosophers as it were from the Dî Majores, although they employ all their faculties upon it; but only from Pan, that is, from sagacious experience and universal knowledge of the things of the world, which usually hits upon such inventions by chance, and, as it were, when employed in hunting. But the contest of music, and its decision, shew a useful doctrine, and one which may serve to throw fetters on the pride and insolence of human judgment and reason. For there appeareth to be a double harmony, or music; the one of Divine Providence, the other of human reason. To human judgment, and, as it were, to the ears of men, the administration of the world and its events have a harsh and somewhat dissonant sound; an ignorance which is aptly designed by asses' ears, which are nevertheless borne in private and not openly. For the absurdity of such judgment is not beheld or remarked by the vulgar. Lastly, it is not to be wondered that no love save that of Echo is attributed to Pan: for the universe enjoys itself, and in itself everything, and he who loves wishes to enjoy, nor is there room for desire in the midst of abundance. Therefore there can be no loves of the universe, nor

desire of enjoyment, since itself sufficeth itself, except perhaps of words; these are the nymph Echo, or, if more accurate, Syringa. Among words or languages, Echo alone is elegantly taken for the marriage of the universe; for that alone is true philosophy which repeats the words of the universe itself with the utmost fidelity, and is written, as it were, by dictation of the universe, nor is anything else but its image and reflection, nor adds anything of its own, but repeats and iterates only. It is essential also to the self-sufficiency and perfection of the universe, that it hath no offspring. For it does mutually generate in its parts; but how can it generate in the whole, since without it there is no body? For concerning his supposed daughter, the handmaiden, that is truly a wise addition to the fable; for by her are represented those vain and wordy doctrines concerning the nature of things which are everywhere scattered at all times, which in reality are fruitless, in kind changelings, but by their variety sometimes pleasant, at other times troublesome and unseasonable.

VII. PERSEUS, OR WAR.

PERSEUS is said to have been sent by Pallas to slay Medusa, who caused great calamity to many nations of the west in the extremities of Hiberia. For this monster was so dreadful and terrific that by its meré aspect it turned men into stone. This Medusa was the only mortal among the Gorgons; the others, who were passive, were not so. Perseus, accoutring himself for so noble an adventure, received accordingly arms and gifts from three gods: the wings, called talares, from Mercury; from Pluto, a helmet; from Pallas a shield and a mirror. However, although armed with such an equipment, he did not direct himself straightway to Medusa, but first turned off to the Grææ. These were sisters to the Gorgons by the mother's side. These Grææ were hoary and ancient in appearance from their birth. They possessed in common between them only one eye and tooth, which each as it happened to her to go from home, carried out with her, and restored again on her return. This eye and tooth they lent to Perseus. Then, at length, thinking himself fully equipped to perform his destined task, he hastened with rapid flight to Medusa. Her he attacked sleeping; for he did not dare to hazard the expo-

sure of himself to her countenance, in case she should wake, but turning back his head, guided his stroke by the reflection from the mirror of Pallas, he cut off her head. From the pouring forth of the blood of Medusa, a winged Pegasus immediately sprung forth. Her severed head was inserted by Perseus into the shield given him by Pallas, its virtue still adhering to it; so that all men, as if thunder- or planet-struck, stiffened into stone at its aspect.

This fable appears to have been invented of the science and policy of war. And it proposes at the first deliberation concerning the undertaking of war, and the manner of carrying it on which is to be chosen, three wholesome and weighty precepts, worthy as it were of the counsel of Pallas. First, that no one should exert himself too strenuously for the subjugation of neighbouring nations. For the same rule does not apply to the increasing of patrimony and that of dominion. For in private possessions contiguity of estates is esteemed; but in the extension of empire, opportunity, and likelihood of success in war, and profit resulting therefrom, should stand in the place of contiguity. Thus the Romans, at a time when they had scarcely penetrated further than Liguria into the west, had embraced in their conquests and empire the provinces of the east even to Mount Taurus. Thus Perseus, although an inhabitant of the east, did not refuse to undertake a distant expedition even

to the extremity of the west. In the second, care should be taken that there be just and honourable cause of war. For this adds zeal both to the soldiers and to the people, who bear the weight of the expense; opens and conciliates alliances, and has many other conveniences. Nor can there be any more righteous cause of war than the overthrow of a tyrant, under whom his people lies prostrate and oppressed without spirit or vigour, as under the aspect of Medusa. Thirdly, it is wisely added, that, although there were three Gorgons (which represent wars), Perseus prudently chose the mortal one; that is, a war of such a nature as might be carried through and brought to a certain end; and did not follow after vague and indefinite hopes of conquest. The equipment of Perseus is that which alone prepares for war, and by which fortune is almost compelled. He received swiftness from Mercury, secrecy of counsel from Arcus, and foresight from Pallas. Nor is it without an allegory, and that a most prudent one, that those wings of swiftness were attached to the heels and not to the shoulders; because swiftness is not so much required in the first undertakings of war, as in those which follow and support them. For there is no error more frequently committed in warfare than that of not following up, and reinforcing the means of war with the vigour with which it was first entered into. The division of foresight also (for the allegory of the helmet of Pluto, which rendered

men invisible, is a manifest one) into a shield and mirror is ingeniously contrived: for it is not only that foresight which guards like a shield, but the other part of it, which consists in watching the forces, motions, and counsels of the adversary (represented by the mirror of Pallas) which is to be employed.

But when Perseus is thus prepared to the fullest extent with forces and arms, there is one point remaining, of the first importance, before he commence his operations, namely to resort to the Grææ. The Grææ represent intrigues. These are the sisters of wars, not of the same blood, but, as it were, of inferior nobility. For war is honourable, intrigue base and infamous. The description of them is elegant; that they are hoary and of ancient appearance from their youth upwards, on account of the perpetual cares and fears of traitors. And their force (before they burst out into open insurrection) lies either in the eye or in the tooth. For every faction or party becomes adverse to the government in any state, both spies and bites or corrodes. And this eye and tooth are, as it were, common to all. For what they discover and have intelligence of is transmitted through the hands of partizans from one member to another. And for the tooth, they bite with the same mouth, and sing the same tune, so that to hear one is to hear all. Thus these Grææ are to be conciliated by Perseus, that they may lend him their tooth and eye: the

eye to acquire information, the tooth to disperse sedition and disaffection, and corrupt the minds of men. After these dispositions and preparations, follow actual hostilities. Here he finds Medusa sleeping: for the prudent undertaker of war makes a point of attacking an enemy when unprepared and in the most negligent security. And at this juncture the mirror of Pallas becomes needful; for most men, before actual danger, can examine the affairs of their enemies acutely and attentively; but in the very article of danger the use of the mirror is most effective, that the manner of the danger may be seen, its terrors not be encountered (which is signified by the averting of the head to look on the mirror). On the accomplishment of the war two effects follow: first, the production and awaking of Pegasus, who clearly denotes fame, which flies to all quarters and proclaims the victory. Secondly, the bearing Medusa's head on the shield; since no kind of defence can be compared to this for its excellence. For one remarkable and memorable action happily carried on and effected checks all the movements of enemies, and renders stupid malevolence itself.

VIII. ENDYMION, OR THE FAVOURITE.

THE shepherd Endymion is said to have been beloved by Luna, and the manner of their meetings was singular and extraordinary: for he was wont to sleep in a grotto near his native place, under the Latmian rocks; and Luna is said to have descended frequently from heaven, sought the embraces of her sleeping companion, and so returned again to heaven. Yet his indolence and sleep was no detriment to his fortunes: but Luna in the meanwhile took care that his herds should fatten and increase as prosperously as possible, so that no shepherd had more well-conditioned or more numerous flocks. This fable appears to relate to the character and habitudes of princes. Being full of cares and inclined to suspicion, they will not readily admit to their private familiarity men who are intelligent, curious, and of vigilant disposition; but rather men of a quiet and yielding nature, who submit to the will of their masters and enquire no farther, exposing themselves as men unconcerned, unsearching, insensible, and, as it were, asleep; paying rather simple obedience than cunning observance to their masters. With such men as these princes are accustomed to descend from their majesty, as the moon from her orbit, to lay aside

their mask (the perpetual wearing of which becomes a sort of burden) and amuse themselves familiarly with them; imagining that they may do this in safety. This was particularly remarked in Tiberius Cæsar, a prince of all others most difficult of access; with whom those only were favourites who did, in fact, make observation of his character, but preserved a perpetual simulation of stupidity. Such was also the custom of Lewis XI. King of France, a most crafty and prudent monarch. Nor is it without elegance that the fable introduces the cave of Endymion, because it is usually the custom with those who enjoy such favour with princes to have some pleasant retirements, to which they may invite them for the sake of leisure and relaxation, unencumbered by the weight of their dignity. Those who become in this manner favourites, are usually prosperous in their fortunes; for the princes, although perhaps they do not raise them to honours, yet, since they love them with sincere affection, and not with a view to make use of them, are wont to enrich them with their munificence.

IX. THE SISTER OF THE GIANTS, OR FAME.

THE poets relate that the giants, sprung from the Earth, engaged in war against Jupiter and the gods, and were overthrown and subdued by thunderbolts; and that Earth, indignant against the gods, for the sake of revenge for her sons, brought forth Fame, the last sister of the giants.

Illam Terra parens, ira irritata Deorum,
Extremam (ut perhibent) Cœo Enceladoque sororem,
Progenuit.

The following appears to be the meaning of this fable: by Earth the nature of the common people is understood; perpetually swelling up and rebellious against potentates, and constantly producing revolutions. This nature, when occasion offers, brings forth rebels and seditious men, who endeavour with impious daring to disturb and overthrow princes. When these are overthrown, the same nature of the populace, favourable to the worst characters, and impatient of tranquillity, produces rumours, malignant whispers, and seditious complaints, declamatory libels, and such like, to excite hatred against those who are at the head of government: so that rebellious actions and seditious rumours differ in no respect from each other in race and family, but as it were only in sex, the latter appearing feminine, the former masculine.

X. ACTÆON AND PENTHEUS, OR THE CURIOUS MAN.

THE curiosity of men in hunting out secrets, and the ill directed appetite which induces them to desire and seek after the knowledge of them, is reproved by the ancients in two fables; the one of Actæon, the other of Pentheus. Actæon having seen Diana undressed, by chance, through his imprudence, was turned into a stag, and torn by the dogs which he nourished. Pentheus, who had ascended a tree, with intent to behold the secret sacrifices of Bacchus, was struck with madness. This madness of Pentheus was of such a nature, that he imagined things to have become double, and that two Suns and two Thebes appeared before his eyes: so that as soon as he hastened towards Thebes, he was immediately recalled by the opposite vision of the city. And in this manner he was led up and down in perpetual inquietude.

Eumenidum veluti demens videt agmina Pentheus,
Et Solem geminum, et duplices se ostendere Thebas.

The first of these fables seems to relate to the secrets of princes; the second, to divine secrets. For those who, without being admitted to the privacy of princes, and, against their will, become possessed of their secrets, raise most certain hatred

against themselves. Therefore, knowing that they are objects of suspicion, and occasions of ruining them sought after, they lead a timid and suspicious life, like that of deer. Moreover, it frequently happens that they are accused and ruined by their servants and domestics, for the sake of the prince's favour. For where the ill-will of a prince becomes apparent, there are to be found usually as many traitors as servants: and the fate of Actæon awaits them. The calamity of Pentheus is of a different nature. For those who rashly dare to aspire, forgetful of their mortality, to celestial mysteries by the lofty summits of nature and philosophy (as by the ascent of a tree), the punishment declared against them is perpetual inconstancy of opinion, and a vacillating and perplexed judgment. And since there are two lights to them, that of Nature and that of religion; hence it becomes to them as though they saw two suns. And since the actions of life, and decrees of the will depend upon the understanding, they necessarily hesitate as much in will as in opinion, and never remain consistent to themselves. Thus, in like manner, they see a double Thebes: for under the name of Thebes are described the ends of actions (the house and refuge of Pentheus being at Thebes). Hence they remain uncertain which way to turn themselves, and are doubtful and hesitating in momentous affairs, as if guided in each of them by sudden impulses of the mind.

XI. ORPHEUS, OR PHILOSOPHY.

THE fable of Orpheus, which, although commonly known, has not obtained in all its parts a faithful expositor, appears to designate the character of universal philosophy. The person of Orpheus, a most admirable and divine character, skilled in every mode of harmony, and able to conquer and attract all things by his sweet numbers, may be applied by an easy transition to suit the description of philosophy. Thus the labours of Orpheus excel in dignity and magnitude the labours of Hercules, as the works of wisdom do the works of fortitude. Orpheus, led by his love for his consort, snatched from him by premature death, trusting to his lyre, conceived the enterprise of descending to the infernal regions, to recover her by entreaty from the shades. Nor did he fail in his hopes; for, having appeased the manes by the charms of his verse and the delights of his melody, he so far prevailed as to obtain the power of leading her back with him: yet, under the condition that she must follow him from behind, and that he must not look back until he has reached the confines of day. Nevertheless, urged by impatience of his love and anxiety, he broke the law almost in the very moment of safety, and his wife was pre-

cipitously hurried back into the infernal regions. From that time Orpheus become a melancholy woman hater, betook himself to solitude, where by the same sweetness of his song and instrument he first drew round him all manner of wild beasts, and forced them to put off their very nature, forget their passions, their ferocity, and the maddening stimulus of their lust, or desire for prey, until they stood round him like the spectators of a theatre, become calm and tame among themselves, and seeming to lend their ears to the harmony of his lyre. Nor was this all, for so great was the power and influence of music, that the very woods and stones were moved to relinquish their habitations, and take their seats around him in decent order and manner. Thus far he had proceeded successfully, with great admiration from all. At length the Thracian women, roused by the influence of Bacchus, first blew a loud and hoarse blast from their horns, so that from the violence of the noise the sound of the Muses could no longer be heard: then only the spell which had been the uniting link of this orderly society being dissolved, tumult began; all the beasts returned to their pristine natures, and attacked each other as formerly: nor did the stones and woods remain in their places, while Orpheus himself was finally torn to pieces by the raging women, and his relics scattered over the fields: through grief for whose death, Helicon, the river sacred to the Muses, hid his streams in

indignation under the earth, and again raised his fountains in another spot. The following seems to be the sense of the fable.

The song of Orpheus is two-fold. First, that which appeases the shades; second, that which draws round him the beasts and trees. The first is most aptly referred to natural, the second to moral and civil, philosophy. For by far the most noble object of natural philosophy, is the restoration and reinvigoration of corruptible natures; and (as lesser steps to serve for this purpose) the preservation of matter in its existing state, and the delaying of dissolution and decomposition. If this may ever be effected at all, it will certainly not be otherwise done than by exact and curiously sought refinements of nature, and accurate measures, even like the harmony of a lyre. But this act, of all the most difficult, usually fails in its effect; and that probably not more from any other cause than from curious and unseasonable anxiety and impatience. Therefore philosophy, being scarcely competent to such an undertaking, betakes itself to human affairs, and, gradually instilling into the minds of men the love of virtue, justice, and peace, by its persuasive eloquence, it causes societies and nations to unite together, to receive the yoke of law, and submit themselves to its guidance, and become forgetful of their untameable passions while they listen to precept and discipline; from whence they afterwards proceed to

construct edifices, to lay the foundations of towns, to plant fields and gardens with trees: so that stones and woods are not unreasonably said to be called together and moved from their place. And this attention to the affairs of society is rightly placed in its due order, after the sedulous endeavour and late failure in the restoration of a mortal body; because the clearer demonstration of the inevitable necessity of death encourages men to seek eternity by way of achievements and renown. It is also ingeniously added in the fable that Orpheus was averse to women and marriage, because the attractions of marriage and domestic charities do mostly hold men back from meriting great and excellent things of their country, while they are contented in acquiring immortality through their offspring, instead of through their actions. Nevertheless, the works of wisdom herself, although they be most excellent among those of man, are yet subject to perish in a certain space of time. Thus it has happened that when kingdoms and commonwealths have flourished up to their hour, at length tumults, seditions, and wars arise; among the disturbances of which first the laws fall silent, and men return to the original vice of their nature: and desolation is also seen in the cultivated lands and cities. And, in no short space of time, if this madness lasts, letters and philosophy herself are sure to be torn in pieces, so that nothing but a few fragments of her are found in distant

places, like the timbers of a shipwreck. Times of barbarism succeed, the waters of Helicon sink under the earth, until in the necessary mutations of things they burst out again, and flow forth, not perhaps, in the same places, but among other nations.

XII. HEAVEN, OR ORIGINS.

THE poets feign that Cœlus (Heaven) was the most ancient of the deities: that his parts of generation were cut off with a scythe by his son Saturn: that Saturn begat a numerous offspring but always devoured his sons: that Jupiter at last escaped from destruction, and that as soon as he grew up he thrust his father, Saturn, into Tartarus, and seized on his kingdom, having moreover cut off his genitals with the same scythe which Saturn had used against Cœlus, and cast them into the sea; from which Venus was born. After this, two memorable wars threatened the scarcely established kingdom of Jupiter. The first from the Titans, towards the reducing of whom, the assistance of Sol (who alone of the Titans embraced the cause of Jupiter) is said to have been very conducive. The second from the giants, who were routed by the thunderbolt and arms of Jupiter; after whose conquest Jupiter reigned secure. The fable ap-

pears to be an enigma concerning the original of things, not far different from the philosophy afterwards adopted by Democritus, who most openly of all asserted the eternal nature of matter, and denied the eternity of the universe: in which he approached somewhat near to the truth expressed in the scriptures, in the history of which matter is said to have existed in an unformed state before the work of the six days. The meaning of the fable is as follows: heaven is that concave circumference which incloses matter. Saturn himself is matter, which deprives its parent of all productive power. The quantity of matter is always the same, nor does the sum of nature ever increase or diminish. The agitations and motions of matter first produced the imperfect and incoherent rudiments and elements of things, and essays as it were of worlds: at length, in the progress of time, a fabric grew, which had power to guard and preserve its own form. The first division, therefore, of time is signified by the kingdom of Saturn, who is said to be the devourer of his children, to represent the frequent dissolutions and short duration of forms of matter during its passage. The second by the kingdom of Jupiter, who thrust down these perpetually changing and transitory existences into Tartarus, which signifies agitation. This place appears to be the middle space between the recesses of heaven and the interior of the earth; in which interval change and frailty and mortality,

or corruptibility, do chiefly inhabit. Under the former ages of the production of things which lasted through the reign of Saturn, Venus is said not to have existed. For while, through the universal extent of matter, discord was stronger and more powerful than concord, an entire change in the fabric itself was necessarily taking place; and thus the generations of matter continued, until the mutilation of Saturn. When this mode of generation ceased, a new one immediately succeeded, which is effected by means of Venus,—the adult and powerful concord of things: so that change takes place only in parts, the main fabric remains entire and undisturbed. Saturn they relate to have been merely dethroned and exiled, not slain and annihilated; because it was the opinion of Democritus that the universe might relapse into its ancient chaos and state of anarchy; the accomplishment of which in his time Lucretius deprecated:

> Quod procul à nobis, flectat fortuna gubernans
> Et ratio potius, quam res persuadeat ipsa.

When, however, the world was established on its own basis, and stayed by its own strength, still there was no rest at first. In the first place, mighty movements took place in the celestial regions, which by the virtue of the sun predominating among the celestial bodies were so made to cease, that the state of the universe still subsisted. Afterwards, like things happened in the inferior regions, by

inundations, tempests, winds, and yet more by universal earthquakes: by the subduing and suppression of which the harmony and tranquillity of things grew more peaceful and durable. But of this fable both may be affirmed that the fable contains philosophy, and again the philosophy contains fable. For by faith we know that all this is no more than the long ago silent and failing oracles of sense; since the matter and formation of the world are most truly referred to the Creator of all.

XIII. PROTEUS, OR MATTER.

THE poets relate that Proteus was shepherd to Neptune; that he was aged, and a prophet: a prophet the most excellent and thrice greatest of all. For he knew not only the future, but the past and present also, so that besides his divination he was also the relator and expounder of all secrets and of all history. His habitation was under a vast cavern. There he was accustomed at noon to count his flock of Phocæ, and then betake himself to sleep. Whoever was desirous to obtain his assistance for any undertaking, could prevail upon him by no means except by handcuffing and binding him with fetters. On the other hand, he, in order to free himself, would change himself into all manner of forms and prodigies, fire, water, shapes of

beasts; until at last he returned to his original figure. The interpretation of this fable appears to refer it to the secrets of nature and the laws of matter. Under the form of Proteus matter is signified, the most ancient of all things after God. Matter inhabits under the concave vault of heaven, like a cave. It is the slave of Neptune, because the operation and distribution of matter principally takes place in metals. The cattle, or flock, of Proteus appears to be no other than the ordinary race of animals, plants, and metals, in which matter appears to divide and as it were consume itself: so that when it has formed and perfected these species, then, as having finished its task, it appears to lie in a quiescent state, and cease to essay, imagine, or form any further species. Such is the counting of the flock of Proteus, and his sheep. This is said to take place at noon, not in the morning or evening: that is, when the time has come which is fully ripe, and as it were appointed by law for the perfection and cessation in further production of species out of predisposed and prepared matter, which is the middle time between their elements and their declension; which we know sufficiently from holy writ to have been at the very time of the creation. Then, by virtue of the divine word "produce," matter collected together under the command of the creator, instantly, and not through its natural transformations, and immediately brought its work to completion and pro-

duced species. Thus far the fable completes the relation of Proteus while he remains free and unbound, together with his flock. For the universe, with its ordinary forms and structures of species, is the form of matter not bound or chained, and of the flock of material things. Nevertheless, if a skilful handler of nature apply force to matter, and torment and press it, as if with intent and determination to reduce it to nothing, matter on the contrary (since its utter annihilation and destruction can never take place except by the omnipotent will of God), being placed in these straits, twists and changes itself into a wonderful variety of shapes and transformations; until it has gone through a circle of mutations, fulfilled its revolutions, and finally restores itself to its former shape, if the force be constantly applied to it. The addition of the fable, that Proteus was a prophet, and knew all the three forms of time, well consents with the nature of matter. For it is necessary that whosoever knows the accidents and processes of matter, must also know the sum of all things done, doing, and to be done, although his knowledge may not extend to particulars and individuals.

XIV. MEMNON, OR THE PREMATURE.

ACCORDING to the poets, Memnon was the son of Aurora. Brilliant in the beauty of his arms, and rich in popular favour, he came to the Trojan war, and, ardently hastening with rash daring to reach the highest prize, engaged in single combat with Achilles, the bravest of the Greeks, and fell by his hand. Jupiter, commiserating his fate, sent birds to attend his funeral, and pay honour to his remains with a perpetual doleful and solemn strain; and it is said that his statue when first touched by the rising sun was wont to emit a mournful sound. This fable appears to relate to the calamitous ends of young men of great promise. They are like the sons of the morning; and emboldened by the brilliancy of empty and superficial appearances, they are impelled to darings beyond their strength, challenge the greatest heroes, provoke them to the field, and fail and perish in the unequal conflict. Their death is usually followed by infinite commiseration; for nothing among the accidents of the human race is so lamentable and so powerful to excite pity, as the bloom of courage cut down by a premature destruction. For the early age of the sufferers has not reached far enough to excite indifference, or envy, which might tem-

per the sorrow conceived for their fate, or diminish the pity felt towards them. Moreover, these lamentations and sorrows do not merely flit like those funeral birds around their tomb, but this pity is lasting and protracted; most of all, when opportunities arise for changes and mighty enterprises, as at the rays of the rising sun, regret for their loss is again awaking.

XV. TYTHONUS, OR SATIETY.

AN elegant fable is related concerning Tythonus: that he was beloved by Aurora, who being anxious for the perpetual enjoyment of his company, asked of Jupiter, that Tythonus might never die; but through feminine negligence she forgot to insert in her petition the condition, that he should never grow old. Thus the destiny of death was taken away from him, and a strange and pitiable old age was left him; such as might naturally come on one to whom death is denied, while the burden of age grows daily heavier; so that Jupiter, in pity for his lot, at length changed him to a grasshopper. This fable appears to be an ingenious sketch, and allegorical representation of pleasure; which, in the beginning, (as in the time peculiar to Aurora) is so grateful to men, that they make vows to heaven that these joys may be theirs

for ever, forgetting that satiety and weariness of them, as of old age, will come on them unawares; so that at last, when the act of pleasure is no longer possible to men, while their desires and affections remain, it usually happens that men receive pleasure from the stories and relations of those things of which the reality delighted them in the vigour of their age. This we particularly observe in lechers and soldiers; the former of whom tell obscene tales, the latter recount their own exploits, like grasshoppers, whose vigour is in their voice alone.

XVI. THE SUITOR OF JUNO, OR DISGRACE.

THE poets relate that Jupiter, who had assumed many and various forms to obtain the accomplishment of his passions, as of a bull, an eagle, a golden shower: when he courted Juno, changed himself into the most ignoble figure, the most contemptible and ridiculous shape which he could assume; namely, that of a wretched cuckoo, wet through with rain and sleet, drooping, trembling, and half dead. This fable is most ingeniously derived from the most deep seated characteristics of men. The meaning of it is, that men should not too highly esteem themselves, imagining that the effects of their virtuous character will acquire favour and reputation for them among all classes of

men; for that such success depends upon the nature and character of those whom they address and cultivate. If these are men of no parts or ornaments, but simply of a proud and spiteful nature, (which is represented by the figure of Juno) then they should be ready immediately to cease to act a part which bears the smallest appearance of dignity or grace: they must know that to persevere by any other means, is mere folly; and that it will not be enough to endure the disgrace which necessarily attends flattery, unless they also put on a character entirely abject and dishonourable.

XVII. CUPID, OR ATOM.

THE various relations which are made of Cupid, or Love, by the poets, cannot properly be made to agree in one agent; yet they differ in such a manner that the confusion of persons may be rejected, their similitude retained. Thus they write that Love was the most ancient of all the gods, and consequently of all things, except chaos, which is represented coeval with him; but chaos, among the early writers, has never divine honours or the name of deity attributed to it. This Love is brought forward without any parents being mentioned, except that some relate that he was an egg produced by Night. He from chaos produced the gods, and the

universe of things. He has four peculiar attributes: he is in a state of perpetual childhood, blind, naked, and an archer. There was indeed another Love, the youngest of the gods, the son of Venus; who has also the attributes of the elder love transferred to him: and the two characters in some manner agree. This fable refers to the rudiments of nature, and deeply investigates them. This Love is the appetite or stimulus of first created matter: or to speak more plainly, the natural movement of the atom. This that most ancient and single force, which frames and constitutes every thing out of matter. It is entirely destitute of parents: that is, uncaused: for the cause is, as it were, the parent of the effect: and of this first influence there can be no cause in Nature (excepting God always), for nothing can be before it in time: no efficient, no natural thing of a more general and known nature; therefore no genus, or form: so that whatsoever this first agent be, it is positive and unorganized matter. And if its essence and process could be known, it could never be known through its cause; because under God it is the cause of all causes, and itself causeless. Nor, perhaps, is its essence possible to be fixed and comprehended by human examination: so that it is with reason said to be an egg hatched by Night. Such certainly the sacred philosopher pronounces it to be: "He hath made everything beautiful in their seasons, also he hath set the world in their meditations, yet man

cannot find the work that God hath wrought, from the beginning even to the end:" for the original law of Nature, or virtue of this Cupid, impressed upon the first particles of things by the Creator to produce coition, from the repetition and multiplication of which all the variety of Nature emerges and is composed, can possibly excite the meditations of man, but can never be the subject of his comprehension. The philosophy of the Greeks is found to have been more acute and laborious in investigating the principles of materially formed things; more negligent and unsatisfactory with regard to the laws of motion, in which all the vigour of generation consists: and on this point on which we treat it appears altogether blind and trifling. For the opinion of the peripatetics of the privative stimulus of nature scarcely goes beyond mere words, and rather represents than explains the case. Those who refer all to God, do well, indeed, but ascend by a leap, and not step by step. For no doubt there is a primary and single law in which nature agrees, subordinate to God: that very one, namely, which in the above text is pointed out in the sentence, "The work that God hath wrought from the beginning even unto the end." But Democritus, who considered this matter more deeply, having imagined an atom possessing neither dimension nor figure, attributed to it one simple motion, namely, the cupido, or primary movement, and another relative motion. For he conceived all

things to be borne by nature towards the centre of the universe; while that which had more matter, being hurried more rapidly to the centre, struck off and repelled backwards that which had less. Yet this theory was too narrow, and comprehended less than it should have done. For neither the circular revolutions of the celestial bodies, nor the contraction and expansion of things can be reduced or accommodated to this principle. Again, the opinion of Epicurus, of the declension of the atom, and its agitation by the operation of chance, relapses into trifling and ignorance. Thus it appears far clearer than we might wish, that this Cupid is involved as yet in darkness. Let us now consider his attributes: Cupid is elegantly represented as a little child in perpetual infancy. For composed bodies are larger, and subject to the effects of time: but the first seeds of things, or atoms, are diminutive, and remain in perpetual childhood. It is also said with great truth, that he is naked; since all composed bodies, to one who thinks justly, appear concrete and clothed with Reason; and nothing is properly naked except the first particles of things. The allegorical blindness of Cupid is also a wise invention: for this Cupid, whoever he is, appears to have very little foresight; but to direct his steps and motions according to whatever he feels nearest to him, as the blind find their way by the touch; by which so much the more admirable is the supreme providence of God, which produces, by a

certain and immutable law, out of things most blind, most destitute and void of foresight, the existing order and beauty of things. The last attribute given him is that of being an archer, that is, that his influence is such as to operate by nature at a distance: for that which operates at a distance, acts as if by sending forth an arrow; and whoever supposes an atom, or a vacuum, necessarily introduces the distant influence of an atom; for if this be taken from it, no motion could be excited by reason of the interposition of the vacuum, and all would rest torpid and immovable. As to the younger Cupid, he is rightly represented as the youngest of the gods, since he could not flourish before the constitution of species. In the description of him the allegory is bent and brought round to the character of man. Yet he has a certain conformity with the more ancient Cupid. Venus excites the general appetite of union and procreation: Cupid, her son, directs this affection to an individual object. The general disposition is the work of Venus, the more exact sympathy that of Cupid: the former depends upon more superficial causes; the latter on higher and more important principles, and, as it were, descends from the ancient Cupid, on whom all exquisite sympathy depends.

XVIII. DIOMED, OR JEALOUSY.

DIOMED being honoured with great and deserved glory, and the favourite of Minerva, was excited by her advice (and that more easily than he should have been) to refuse to spare Venus in case he should meet her in battle: which he boldly performed by wounding her in the right hand. For this daring action he remained at the time unpunished, and returned to his country famous and illustrious in his exploits: where having suffered under domestic evils, he fled abroad into Italy. Here also he had a very fortunate beginning, and was honoured and enriched by the hospitality and munificence of king Daunus, and had many statues erected to him in that country. But upon the first calamity which befell the people among whom he abode, king Daunus immediately bethought himself that he had brought under his roof an impious man, an enemy and opponent of the gods; who had attacked with weapons and wounded a goddess whom even to touch was forbidden. Therefore, in order to free his country by the offering of a lustral sacrifice, without reverencing the laws of hospitality, which appeared to him less ancient than the right of religion, he instantly slew Diomed; and commanded his statues

to be thrown down, and his honours to be revoked. Nor was it allowed even to lament so heavy a misfortune with impunity: for his very companions, who were mourning for the fate of their leader, and filling all places with their lamentations, were changed into certain birds resembling swans, which at the time of their death chaunt a sweet and melancholy strain.

This fable has a rare and singular subject: for we have no relation of any other hero in fable, except Diomed only, who was said to have violated any of the gods with his arms. And in his character the fable appears to represent the image and fortunes of a man who professedly proposes and sets before himself this object for his endeavours, namely, to attack and overcome by arms and violence any form of worship, or religious sect, even a vain and unreasonable one. For although the bloody wars of religion were unknown to the ancients, (since the Heathen deities were not affected with that jealousy which is the attribute of the true God) yet such and so extensive seems to have been the wisdom of the early ages, that they were able to comprehend by meditation, and express in allegory what they could not know by experience. Those, then, who attempt not to correct and convince by force of reason and doctrine, sanctity of life, and weight of authorities and examples, any religious sect, although a vain, corrupt, and infamous one (which is signified in the person of Ve-

nus), but strive to root out and exterminate it by sword and fire and cruel punishments; are perhaps inflamed to this degree by Pallas, that is, by a certain cold prudence and severity of judgment, by the force and efficacy of which they clearly see through the fallacies and absurdities of these errors; added to hatred of wickedness and just zeal. And it may happen that at the time they acquire much glory, and among the people, to whom moderate measures are never grateful, are celebrated and almost adored as the only true champions of truth and religion; all others appearing lukewarm and timid. But this glory and felicity rarely abide to the end: and almost all violence which does not escape by a speedy death the vicissitudes of fortune, fails in prosperity at last. If it should happen that a change take place in affairs, and the oppressed and persecuted sect acquires strength and rises again, then the contentious zeal of such men is condemned, their very name is an object of hatred, and all their honours end in ignominy. The slaughter of Diomed by his host signifies that difference of religion excites hatred and treason even between the dearest friends: and that the grief and lamentations of his comrades were not endured, but punished, is intended to admonish men, that in almost every crime there is room left for pity; so that those who detest the act, yet commiserate the persons and sufferings of the guilty, through humanity: and that it is the last of evils, to interdict the com-

munication of pity. Yet in cases of irreligion and impiety, even the commiseration of men is marked and becomes suspicious. On the other hand, the complaints and lamentations of the companions of Diomed, that is, of men who embrace the same sect and opinion, are usually very shrill and harmonious, as those of swans or the birds of Diomed: in which respect also that last part of the allegory is excellent and admirable: that the voices of those who suffer for the sake of religion, at the time of their death, like the songs of swans, soften the minds of men in a wonderful manner, and remain long infixed in their memory and feelings.

XIX. DÆDALUS, OR THE MECHANIC.

MECHANICAL science and industry, and the unlawful artifices which are employed by a bad use of them, are shadowed out by the ancients under the character of Dædalus, a most ingenious, but execrably bad character. This man was banished for the murder of a rival and fellow student, but became in his exile a friend to kings and cities. And he had indeed built and framed many exquisite edifices, both for the honour of the gods, and the magnificence and adornment of cities; but his name is principally famous for his illicit workmanship. He built a fabric to minister to the lust of

Pasiphae, that she might be united there with a bull; so that from the wicked industry and mischievous ingenuity of this man, the monster Minotaur, which devoured the free youth of Athens, drew his ill-fated and infamous origin. To conceal evil by accumulating evil upon it, for the security of this pest, he imagined and constructed the labyrinth: a work wicked in its intent and destination, wonderful and renowned for its excellence of art. Lastly, that he might not become known merely for his evil stratagems, and that remedies, as well as instruments of wickedness, might be in his gift, he was the inventor of the ingenious artifice of the clue of thread by which the windings of the labyrinth might be retraced. This Dædalus Minos pursued with great severity and diligence of inquisition: but he always found means of escape and places of refuge. At length, when he had taught his son Icarus the art of flying, the novice, ostentatious of his powers, fell from the air into the sea.

The allegory appears to be of the following nature: in its very opening, the envy which watches the acts of excellent workmen, and possesses wonderful influence, is marked out; for no kind of men suffers so much under envy, and that of the most bitter and unrelenting nature. A hint is added of the impolitic and improvident nature of the punishment of Dædalus, namely, by banishment. For it is the peculiar excellence of good artificers, that they are most acceptable to every

people; so that banishment can hardly be inflicted as a punishment on a skilful mechanic. For other conditions and kinds of life cannot easily be enjoyed out of our country. But the admiration of artificers is propagated and increased among foreign people, since it is natural to man to undervalue the talents of his own fellow citizens in mechanical arts. What follows concerning the use of these arts, is manifest; for human life owes much to them, since from their treasures much is brought for the celebration of religion, much for public magnificence, and for general civilization. Nevertheless, from the same source are brought instruments of lust and cruelty. For we well know (to omit the wiles of procurers) how far our exquisite poisons, our military artillery, and such destroying engines, surpass the Minotaur himself in cruelty and destructiveness. The allegory of the labyrinth is also a very beautiful one, in which general nature is sketched out in relation to mechanics. For all mechanic inventions which are ingenious and exquisite may be regarded as a labyrinth; for their subtlety and various involutions, and apparent similitude in things, the difference between which can hardly be traced or discriminated by any acuteness of judgment, but only by the clue of experience. Nor is it less fitly added, that the same person who invented the windings of the labyrinth also shewed the application of the clue: for the mechanic arts are as it were of twofold use, and

serve both for mischief and remedy, and their virtue does for the most part dissolve and unravel its own secrets. Minos is said frequently to prosecute these illicit artifices, and therefore the arts also; that is, the laws, which condemn them and interdict the use of them to the people. Nevertheless; they are concealed and retained, and have everywhere both their hiding places and refuge, which was also well remarked in a subject of much the same nature in his time by Tacitus, speaking of the judicial astrologers and Genethliacs: a race of men, he says, who will be ever maintained and ever prohibited in our city. And yet illicit and curious arts of any kind fall in length of time from their reputation (as Icarus from heaven), are reduced to contempt, and perish by too great ostentation of themselves, being generally unable to perform what they have promised. And certainly, if the whole truth is to be said, they are not so successfully put down by restraints of law, as refuted by their own want of success.

XX. ERICTHONIUS, OR IMPOSTURE.

THE poets fable that Vulcan made an attempt on the chastity of Minerva, and with inflamed desires offered her violence, and that in the struggle his seed fell on the ground, from which Eric-

thonius was born, who in his upper parts was comely and well knit, but his thighs and legs ended in the resemblance of an eel, small and deformed. Of this deformity being himself conscious, he was the first who invented the use of chariots, by which means he might shew what was well made of his form, and conceal at the same time his disgrace. Of this strange and monstrous fable the following appears to be the signification. Art (which is represented under the person of Vulcan, on account of the numerous uses of fire) as often as, by various mutation of corporeal substances, it attempts to do violence to Nature, and conquer and subdue her (Nature being shadowed out under the character of Minerva, for the variety of her works), rarely attains the destined object of its wish: yet in its great machinations and strivings, (as in a struggle) certain imperfect productions and mutilated works are brought forth, specious in appearance, in use weak and halting, which nevertheless impostors use to shew about with much deceitful ostentation, and carry, as it were, in triumph. Such we may frequently observe among chemical productions and among mechanical tricks and novelties; especially when men, more pressing on to their object than retracing their steps from error, rather struggle with nature than seek its embraces with just obedience and observance.

XXI. DEUCALION, OR RESTITUTION.

THE poets relate that when the whole of the inhabitants of the ancient world were entirely extinguished by a universal deluge, and Deucalion and Pyrrha alone remained, who were inflamed with a glorious and pious desire of restoring the human race, they received an oracle of the following purport, that they should obtain their wish if they would take up the bones of their mother, and cast them behind them, which at first filled their minds with sadness and despair; since the face of the earth having been completely altered by the deluge, to seek her tomb would be an entirely fruitless attempt; but at length they discovered that the stones of the earth (since the earth is called the common mother of all) were signified by the oracle. This fable appears to be a key to the secrets of nature, and intended to correct an error deeply fixed in the mind of man, for the ignorance of man imagines that the renewals or restorations of things can be effected from their remnants in a state of decomposition, as the Phœnix is raised from its own ashes, which is not at all convenient to nature, since matter of this description has already performed its office, and is utterly insufficient for the generation of things. Thus we must recur to more common principles.

XXII. NEMESIS, OR THE MUTABILITY OF THINGS.

NEMESIS is said to be a goddess to be venerated by all men, and to be feared also by the rich and powerful. She is called the daughter of Night and Ocean; her figure is described after the following manner:—She was winged, and wore a crown; she bore in her right hand an ashen spear, in her left a phial in which Æthiops were confined, and was mounted on a deer. The allegory seems to be thus explained: The name Nemesis signifies manifestly enough, Vengeance or Retribution, for the office and ministry of this goddess consisted in this, that she should interpose her veto, like a tribune of the people, against the constant and unvarying prosperity of the fortunate; and not only chastise insolence, but pay off prosperity, even though moderate and innocently acquired, with alternate seasons of adversity, as if it were a custom that no one under the laws of humanity could be admitted to the feasts of the gods, except to be made mock of. And I indeed, when I read that chapter in C. Pliny, in which he collects the ill accidents and misfortunes of Augustus Cæsar, him whom I was wont to look upon as the most fortunate of all men, who had also a peculiar art of enjoying his good fortune, in whose mind there was no vain exaltation, no

levity, no effeminacy, no indecision, no melancholy to be remarked, (even so that he had determined to put an end at some time to his own life) did truly judge that Goddess to be a most mighty and powerful one, to whose altar such a victim as this was to be dragged. The parents of this Goddess were Ocean and Night, that is, the Vicissitudes of Things, and the obscure and secret counsel of God; for the changes of things are aptly represented by the Ocean in his everlasting flux and reflux, and occult Providence is well designated by Night. For among the Gentiles also that nocturnal Nemesis, who appeared wherever the judgment of God seemed to differ from that of man, was matter of observation.

> ——— cadit et Ripheus, justissimus unus
> Qui fuit in Teucris, et servantissimus æqui,
> Diis aliter visum———

Nemesis is represented winged, from the suddenness and unexpectedness of the changes of things; for throughout the memory of man it is mostly wont to happen, that great and prudent men have perished under those trials which they most especially contemned. Certainly, when M. Cicero was admonished by Decius Brutus of the insincerity and concealed malice of Octavius Cæsar, he merely answered, "You my Brutus I love as I should, for having chosen that I should be informed even of these trifles, whatsoever they

are." Nemesis is distinguished also by a crown, on account of the envious and malicious nature of the populace, for when the fortunate and powerful fall, then the populace exults, and honours Nemesis with a crown. The spear in her right hand refers to those whom she strikes and transfixes with it; and to those whom she does not visit with calamity and misfortune, she nevertheless shews that ill omened and dark vision which she holds in her left hand: for beyond a doubt, to those who are placed even at the summit of felicity, the thoughts do frequently occur of death and disease, and misfortune, and the faithlessness of friends, and the evil counsel of enemies, and similar evils; as the Æthiops in the phial. Certainly Virgil, in describing the battle of Actium, elegantly adds concerning Cleopatra:

> Regina in mediis; patrio vocat agmina sistro,
> Nec dum etiam geminos à tergo respicit angues.

But within a very short time, whichever way she turned herself, whole armies of Æthiops appeared before her. At the end it is wisely added, that Nemesis sits on a stag; since the stag is a particularly vivacious animal, and it may perhaps happen, that he who is snatched away by fate young, overtakes and escapes from Nemesis; but he who obtains a lasting prosperity and power, must doubtless at last be subjected to, and as it were mounted by the goddess.

XXIII. ACHELOUS, OR BATTLE.

THE ancients write, that when Hercules and Achelous were contending for the hand of Dejanira, their rivalry ended in a conflict. Achelous, after trying his chance under various and constantly changing forms, (for this he had power to do) at length engaged with Hercules under the form of a fierce and roaring bull, and prepared himself for battle; but Hercules, retaining his wonted human figure, rushed upon him. After a close fight, the end was, that Hercules broke off one of the horns of the bull, who, hurt and terrified to a great degree, in order to redeem his horn, made over to Hercules by way of ransom the horn of Amalthea, or of plenty. This fable pertains to warlike expeditions. The preparations to war by the defensive party (which is represented by Achelous), are various and multiform; for there is one simple plan, and one only, for the invader's force, which consists entirely of army or fleet, as the case may be; while the realm which expects the enemy on her own soil, makes infinite efforts, fortifies and dismantles her towns, collects her population from the fields and villages into her cities and forts, breaks down and pulls to pieces bridges, prepares magazines and supplies, distributes them,

busies herself in her rivers, harbours, ravines, woods, and innumerable circumstances, so as to put on every day a new face; and when at last she is abundantly fortified and prepared, she represents to the life the figure and terrors of a pugnacious bull. He, on the other hand, who invades, seeks occasions of battle, and presses for it as much as possible, fearing want of supplies in a foreign land; if it should happen that he comes off victor in battle, and breaks as it were the horn of his enemy, he obtains this advantage: that the enemy, oppressed with terror and diminished in reputation, in order to put himself in order and repair his forces, retires within his fortifications, and leaves cities and provinces to be depopulated and ravaged by the victor, which may be truly welcomed equal in importance to that horn of Amalthea.

XXIV. BACCHUS, OR PASSION.

THEY relate that Semele, the mistress of Jupiter, having bound him by an inviolable oath to grant her any boon that she might require, asked that he would come to her embraces in such form as he was wont to seek those of Juno. Thus she perished in his lightnings. But the infant whom she bore in her womb was taken up by his

father, and sewn into his thigh until the months of gestation were completed, a burden which caused Jupiter to limp not a little, on which account the boy, from having caused oppression and pain to Jupiter while borne in his thigh, received the name of Dionysus (Bacchus.) As soon as he was brought forth he was committed to the charge of Proserpine for some years; but when grown up he was seen to have an extremely feminine countenance, so that his sex seemed doubtful from his appearance; he also died and was buried for some time, and revived within a short space. In his earliest youth he discovered the cultivation of the vine, and thence first taught the composition of wine; become by this means celebrated and renowned, he conquered the whole world, and extended his victories as far as the extreme bounds of India. He was borne in a car drawn by tigers; around him danced a troop of deformed dæmons, called Cobali (Kobolds), Acratus, and by other names. The Muses also added themselves to his procession. He took for his wife Ariadne, who had been deserted and left by Theseus. His sacred tree was the ivy. He was also held to be the inventor and constitutor of sacred rites and ceremonies, but all of a fanatical nature, and full of perversions, and moreover of cruelty. He had also the power of inflicting madness. In his orgies celebrated by women agitated by frenzy, two illustrious men, Pentheus and Orpheus, are reported

to have been torn to pieces, the one when he had ascended a tree to become spectator of the rites which were carried on, the other while he struck his lyre; and the actions of this god are frequently confounded with those of Jupiter.

The fable appears to belong to ethical science, and it is one than which nothing better can be found in moral philosophy. Under the person of Bacchus, the nature of Passion or Desire, and the agitation caused by it is represented. Now the mother of all Passion, even the most mischievous, is no other than the appetite and desire of an apparent good. Passion is always conceived in an illicit wish, already rashly yielded to before it is examined and understood. When once the desire has begun to kindle, its mother (the Nature of Good) is destroyed, and perishes in the conflagration; and while passion is immature, it is both brought up and concealed in the human soul, (which is its producer, and is represented by Jupiter), especially in the inferior portion of the soul (as in the thigh), where it pricks, agitates, and oppresses the soul, so that its steps and actions become halt and impotent. Even when it hath been confirmed by consent and habit, and breaks forth into action, it is nevertheless educated until its time by Proserpine, that is, it seeks hiding places, and exists clandestinely, and as it were under the earth, until, throwing off the reins of shame and fear, and endowed with full grown vio-

lence, it either assumes the pretext of some virtue, or despises all infamy. It is also very true, that every vehement passion is as it were of doubtful sex, for it has the violence of man combined with the impotence of woman. It is also excellently added, that Bacchus is revived after death, for our passions appear sometimes to be set to sleep and extinguished; but we must not trust them even when buried, since when matter and occasion are afforded they rise again. The invention of the vine is a wise allegory, for every passion is ingenious and sagacious in seeking out for objects to inflame it, and above all things discovered by man, wine is the most powerful and efficacious to inflame and excite perturbations of every description, and acts as a common provocation to all of them. Passion is also elegantly described as a conqueror of provinces, and engages in endless enterprises, for it is never content with what it has acquired, but presses onwards with infinite and insatiable appetite, and aims at new conquests. Tigers too are nourished by the passions, and yoked to their car; for when once a passion has become a rider instead of a pedestrian, and appeared the conqueror and triumphant adversary of reason, it is savage, indomitable, and unmerciful against every thing which opposes or checks it. It is wittily said, that those comic dæmons dance around this car; for every passion causeth indecorous, unmeasured, ridiculous, and disgraceful

motions in the eyes, countenance, and action. Thus he who, under the influence of any passion, as Love or Pride, appears to himself grand and magnificent, is to others deformed and ridiculous. The muses also are beheld among the company of passion, for there is scarcely any passion to be found to which some science does not make itself subservient; for in this the license of men's wits diminishes the majesty of the muses; in that they who should be the guides of life, become the followers of passion. It is also a very noble allegory, that Bacchus pours forth his love on her who has been deserted by another, for it is most certain that passion desires and covets that which experience has repudiated; and let all know, who, indulging and meanly serving their own appetites, raise to unmeasured honours the object they wish to enjoy, be it honour, or fortune, or love, or glory, or wisdom, or what else they will, that they are seeking after cast off things, a leaving of those who through all ages have been satiated and disgusted with them after full experiment. The dedication of the ivy to Bacchus is also not without a mystery. For this agrees in two senses; first, because the ivy is green in winter, second, because it creeps, twines, and raises itself round so many objects, trees, walls, and buildings. For the first, every passion flourishes and acquires vigour by resistance and impediment, as the ivy in the frosts of winter. For the second, the predominant pas-

sion, like ivy, twines itself around all human actions and human decisions, adds, unites, and mixes itself with them. Nor is it wonderful that superstitious rites are attributed to Bacchus, since almost every bad passion luxuriates in depraved superstitions: or that madness is said to be caused by him, since every passion is not only itself a short madness, but if it besieges and presses its possessor with its utmost vehemence, terminates in insanity. The story of the fate of Pentheus and Orpheus has an evident signification; namely, that passion when too powerful is a bitter enemy both to meddling curiosity and to free and wholesome admonition. Finally, the confusion of the persons of Bacchus and Jove may be rightly drawn to an allegory; since noble and renowned actions, and illustrious and glorious deserts, although equally honoured with fame and praise, may sometimes proceed from virtue and reason, sometimes from hidden passion and secret appetite, so that it is not easy to distinguish the actions of Bacchus from the actions of Jupiter.

XXV. ATALANTA, OR GAIN.

ATALANTA, excelling in swiftness, challenged Hippomenes to a trial of the course. The conditions of the contest were, that Hippomenes, if victor, should wed Atalanta, if conquered,

should die. And no doubt appeared as to the victory, since the insuperable excellence of Atalanta in the course had been rendered illustrious by the death of many. Hippomenes, therefore, had recourse to stratagem. He prepared three golden apples, and kept them about him. The contest began: Atalanta passed him; he, seeing himself left behind, not unmindful of his art, threw down one of his golden apples before the sight of Atalanta, not in the straight way, but on one side, so that it might both delay her and lead her out of the path. She, incited by female cupidity, or by the beauty of the apple, leaving the course, ran after the apple, and bent to pick it up: Hippomenes, in the meanwhile, passed over no small space of the course, and left her behind him; yet she, by her natural swiftness, recovered her loss of time, and again overtook him: but when Hippomenes had the second and third time caused her the same delay, he came off conqueror at length, by cunning and not by excellence.

This Fable appears to contain a notable allegory of the contest between art and nature. For art, represented by Atalanta, if there be no obstacle or impediment, is far more acute than nature, and, as it were, swifter in the course, and reaches sooner its goal. For this appears in almost all its effects: we see that fruit rises slowly from the kernel, quickly from planting: we see that earth hardens slowly in petrifaction, quickly in brickmaking.

Even in moral science, length of time, as it were by the favour of nature, brings slowly on forgetfulness and comfort in evils: while Philosophy, which is the art of living, does not wait the course of time, but overtakes it, and acts in its place. But this prerogative and excellence of art, to the infinite detriment of human affairs, is counteracted by the golden apples: nor do we find a single art or science which carries on its true and legitimate course without ceasing till it reach its object, which is as the goal of its labours; but all the arts leave off what they have begun, and desert their course, and turn aside, like Atalanta, to gain and utility.

Declinat cursus, aurumque volubile tollit.

Therefore, we must not wonder if art does not attain to the conquest of nature, and to her overthrow and destruction, according to the compact and law of the contest: but the opposite takes place, and art is under the power of nature, and obeys it as a married woman her husband.

XXVI. PROMETHEUS, OR THE STATE OF MAN.

THE ancient tradition is, that man was the creation of Prometheus, and made of earth, except inasmuch as Prometheus mixed with the mass certain particles from different animals. He, wish-

ing to maintain his own work by his own benefits, and to appear not only as the founder of the human race, but as its exalter, ascended clandestinely to Heaven, bearing combustibles with him on a rod, which he lit by applying them to the chariot of the sun, and thus brought down fire to earth, and communicated it to man. For this great favour of Prometheus, men appear to have been little grateful; on the contrary, they conspired against him, and accused him and his invention at the tribunal of Jupiter. This complaint appears not to have been received as justice required; for the accusation was too pleasing to Jupiter and the gods themselves. Therefore, for the pleasure they received, they not only allowed the use of fire to mortals, but conferred on them also a new gift, the most acceptable and delightful of any, namely, perpetual youth. In their pride and folly, men placed the gift of the gods on an ass. The ass on his return was labouring under great and vehement thirst: and when he reached the brink of a fountain, a serpent, who was placed as the guardian of the spring, refused to let him drink, unless on condition of receiving whatever the animal carried on its back. The wretched ass accepted the conditions, and in this manner the power of perpetually renewing youth, for the price of a little draught of water, passed from men to serpents. But Prometheus, not relinquishing his craft, and being reconciliated with men after their loss of this gift,

but retaining an exasperated passion against Jupiter, dared to employ his cunning even in a sacrifice. He is said to have immolated two bulls to Jupiter, in such fashion, that the flesh and fat of both were inserted into the hide of one, and the skin of the other stuffed out only with the bones, and then, like a religious and well-intentioned man, gave Jupiter his choice between them.—Jupiter, detesting his cunning and bad faith, but looking for occasion to revenge himself on him, chose the counterfeit bull; and, being inflamed with the desire of vengeance, conceiving that he could not repress the insolence of Prometheus, except by afflicting the race of man (by whose creation Prometheus was made proud and amazingly elated), he commanded Vulcan to form a beautiful lovely woman, on whom also each of the gods conferred a peculiar gift, on which account she was called Pandora. In the hands of this woman they placed an elegant box, in which they had inclosed all kinds of evils and troubles; but hope remained lying at the bottom of the box. She, with her charge, first betook herself to Prometheus, tempting him, to induce him to receive and open it, which he was cautious and crafty enough to reject. Repulsed from him, she turned to Epimetheus, brother to Prometheus, but of a very different disposition. He, without delay, opened rashly the box; and when he saw all those innumerable evils flying from it, too late made sensible of his error,

he hurried and pressed to place the cover upon the box again, but with difficulty preserved hope, the last and lowest of its contents. Finally, Jupiter laying to Prometheus' charge many and heavy grievances, that he had formerly stolen fire from Heaven; that he had mocked the majesty of Jupiter in his counterfeit sacrifice; and that he had despised his gift; adding, also, a new accusation, that he had attempted to ravish Pallas; threw him into chains, and condemned him to perpetual torments. By the command of Jupiter, he was brought to Mount Caucasus, and there bound to a column, so that he could in no wise move himself: an eagle was set by him, which in the day tore and devoured his liver with his beak, while in the night as much as had been eaten grew again, so that there never was wanting matter for the torture. They say, however, that these sufferings were at last terminated; for Hercules, in the cup which he had received from the Sun, having sailed over the ocean, arrived at Caucasus, and freed Prometheus, by piercing the eagle with his arrows. There were instituted among certain nations races of lamp-bearers, in honour of Prometheus, in which the runners carried lighted torches; if those chanced to be extinguished, they yielded the victory to those who followed them, and retired from the course: and he at last received the palm who was the first to bring his torch lighted as far as the goal.

This fable both presents and conceals many true and weighty contemplations; some of them have been already rightly treated of, others remain entirely untouched. By Prometheus, Providence is clearly and manifestly indicated. And among all the contents of the universe, the constitution and fabric of man has been chosen and related by the ancients, to be attributed to Providence as its proper work. Of this, not only appears to be cause of the opinion which man by nature conceives, that mind and intellect appear to be the seat of Providence, and that it seems difficult and incredible to deduce and produce reason and mind from brute and irrational principles; so that it is concluded of necessity, that Providence (or foresight) could not be implanted in the human soul without some ideal pattern and some act of the will, and authority of a higher Providence. The following also is plainly proposed: that man is as it were the centre of the universe, with relation to final causes, so that if man be removed from nature, all other things appear to fluctuate in endless error, and to be as it is called deprived of their tendency, and left without a scope to seek. For all things are subservient to man, and he draws forth and enjoys use and pleasure from each of them. The revolutions and periods of the stars apply both to the division of time and to the distribution of climates. Celestial appearances are employed for prognostics of weather, winds for navigation, for mills and

machines, plants and animals of every description, either for the houses and shelters of men, or for their garments, or their food, or their medicine, or to lighten their labours, or to delight and solace them, so that every thing appears not to act for its own utility, but for that of man. Nor is it without meaning added, that in that mass and composition, particles were taken from divers animals, and tempered and mixed with the earth; since it is most true that of all things which the universe contains, man is the most complex and compound, so that he was not without reason called by the ancients a lesser world. For although the chymists have too absurdly and literally taken, and perverted, the elegance of the word Microcosm, where they suppose that in man there is found every mineral, every vegetable, and all things else, or something answering to them; nevertheless, what we have said remains sound and true, that the human body is of all creatures the most compound and the most organized, whence it possesses and acquires wonderful virtues and faculties; for the powers of simple bodies are few, although sure and quick in action, because least impeded, diminished, and balanced by mixture; but quantity and excellence of virtue most exists in mixture and composition. And nevertheless man appears in his original to be an unarmed and helpless creature, slow to aid itself, and in want of almost every thing. Therefore Prometheus

made haste to invent fire, which supplies and administers ease and assistance to almost all the necessities and actions of man; so that if the soul be the form of forms, the hand the instrument of instruments, fire deserves to be called the aid of aids and the help of helps. For now this all industry, all mechanical art, all science itself receives assistance in innumerable ways. The manner of the theft of fire is aptly described, and according to the nature of the reality. It is said to have been accomplished by a rod communicating with a tube, applied to the car of the sun. For the rod used for striking and giving blows, is clearly added in order to represent with elegance, that the generation of fire takes place by violent percussion and collision of bodies, by which the matter is attenuated and put in motion, and prepared for the reception of celestial heat: thus they draw down and snatch secretly, and as it were furtively, fire as from the car of the sun. What follows is a striking part of the parable. Men, instead of returning thanks and gratitude for the action, turned to indignation and complaint, and brought accusation both against Prometheus and against fire, a conduct which was very acceptable to Jupiter, so that in return for it he increased the blessings of man with added munificence. Whence arose this approbation and reward of the accusation brought by an ungrateful spirit (which embraces almost every vice) against

its author? The story appears to have another meaning. This is the intention of the allegory: that the accusations brought by man against both his nature and his accomplishments proceed from an excellent state of mind, and produce good effects, the contrary is unacceptable to the gods and unprosperous. For those who immeasurably extol the nature of man and the arts which he has received, and in their profuse admiration of such things as they have and possess, and in such sciences as they profess or cultivate, think they should be deemed to have reached perfection; these are, first, irreverent towards the Divine Nature, to the perfection of which they pretend to equalize their own possessions; and they are also barren of utility to men, since they think that they have already reached the summit of all things, and, as having done every thing possible, seek to go no further. On the other hand, those who depart from and accuse nature and art, and are full of complaints, then in truth both possess a more modest turn of mind, and are perpetually incited to new industry and new discoveries. Whence I am more inclined to admire the ignorance and evil genius of men, who, domineered over like slaves by the arrogance of a few, hold in such veneration that philosophy of the Peripatetics, a part only and no great one of the wisdom of the Greeks, that they have rendered all inculpation of it not only useless, but suspected and

dangerous to the author. And Empedocles, who complains like a madman, and Democritus, who complains with great modesty, that every thing is a mystery, that we know nothing, that we see nothing, that truth is sunk in deep wells, that falsehood is wondrously intermingled and entwined with truth; both (for the later Academy went entirely beyond bounds in this matter) are more to be approved of than the confident and dogmatical school of Aristotle. Therefore men are to be admonished, that such informations against nature and art are agreeable to the gods, and elicit new alms and new gifts from the Divine goodness; and that the accusation of Prometheus, although their creator and master, and that vehemently and eagerly urged, is more wholesome and useful than profuse gratitude; and in fine, that opinion of wealth must be reckoned among the chiefest causes of poverty. With regard to the nature of the gift which men are said to have received as a reward for their accusation, (namely, the preservation of youth from decay) we should be led to imagine from it, that the ancients did not despair of discovering methods and medicines for the delaying of old age and prolongation of life; but that they rather accounted them to be of those things, which, although once received by man, have been since lost by his carelessness and negligence, or made of no account than of such as have been entirely denied and never granted to

him. For they signify and hint that, by the right use of fire, and by zealous and strenuous accusation and conviction of the errors of art, the divine munificence did not desert men in granting them this favour, but that they deserted themselves when they placed this gift of the gods on a slow and sluggish ass; since experience appears to be a tardy and stupid guide, from the slow and tortoise-like step of which arose that ancient complaint of the shortness of life and length of art. And certainly it is our opinion that those two faculties, the dogmatical and empirical (science of generals and particulars) have not yet been well united and conjoined; but that the recently received gift of the gods was entrusted either to abstract philosophers, like giddy birds, or to slow and tardy experience, figured by the ass. Yet we may augur well of that ass, unless the accident of thirst on the road intervenes. For we suppose, that if any man does constantly fight under the banners of experience, as by certain rule and method, and does not on his way thirst for experiments which apply only to profit or to ostentation: so that to try these he lays down and throws aside his burden; such a man would be no improper conveyance for the new and added munificence of Heaven. That the gift passed to serpents appears to be an addition to the fable for the sake of ornament, unless it be perhaps inserted that men may be ashamed, that they, with their fire and their nu-

merous arts, cannot transfer those powers to themselves which nature has freely afforded to numerous other animals.

The sudden reconciliation also of men with Prometheus, after they had failed in their hopes, contains a useful and sage admonition. It marks the levity and rashness of mankind in attempting new experiments: for, if these do not immediately succeed, and answer their wishes, men desert their undertakings with hurried celerity, and recur with precipitation to their old ways, and are reconciliated to them. Having described the state of man with reference to arts and intellect, the parable passes over to religion: for the cultivation of divine things has accompanied that of the arts, and has been immediately perverted and abased by hypocrisy. Therefore, under that double sacrifice, the persons of the truly religious man and the hypocrite are elegantly represented. In the one is the fat, the portion of God, on account of its inflammability and odour, by which affection and burning zeal for the glory of God, which aspires after the highest, is signified; in it are the bowels of charity, and the wholesome and useful flesh. In the other nothing is found but dry and naked bones, which, nevertheless, stuff out the skin, and counterfeit a beautiful and magnificent victim; by which are rightly designated external and empty rites and vain sacrifices, with which men load and swell the worship of God, things rather composed for osten-

tation than tending to piety. Nor are men contented with offering this sort of mockery to God, unless they impose them upon him and impute them to him, as if he had himself chosen and prescribed them. The prophet, under the person of God, expostulates against this sort of option: "Is this that fast which I have chosen, that man should afflict his soul for one day, and bend down his head like a bulrush?" After the state of religion, the parable turns to morals, and to the lot of human life. It is the common interpretation, and yet the true one, that by Pandora are signified pleasure and desires, which, after the arts, and cultivation, and luxury of civilized life (as after the gift of fire), also existed. Thus the fabrication of pleasure is deputed to Vulcan, who, in the same way, signifies fire. From pleasure infinite evils, together with late repentance, have flowed into the minds, bodies, and fortunes of men, and not only into the conditions of individuals, but into kingdoms and commonwealths also. For from the same fountain, wars, and tumults, and tyrannies, have drawn their source. It is also worth while to remark, how beautifully and elegantly the fable has depicted the two conditions of human life, as in pictures or models, under the persons of Prometheus and Epimetheus. For those who follow the sect of Epimetheus, being improvident, and never consulting for distant futurity, consider as first those things which are at the time pleasant, and

are on this account oppressed with many straits, difficulties, and calamities, and hold perpetual conflict with them; yet sometimes they appease their genius, and, moreover, from their inexperience of life, revolve many empty hopes in their mind, with which, as with pleasant dreams, they delight themselves, and season the miseries of their life. But the school of Prometheus, composed of men prudent and provident of the future, cautiously remove and reject many evils and misfortunes: but at the same time they deprive themselves of many pleasures and various delights, arising from circumstances, and defraud their genius; and, which is much worse, torment and destroy themselves with cares and anxieties, and internal fears. Bound to the column of necessity, they are harassed with innumerable thoughts, which, from their swiftness, are designated by the eagle, and those piercing ones, and consuming the liver; unless at intervals, and as it were by night, they find some little remission and quiet for their soul, although that new anxieties and new fears are constantly returning. Therefore, to very few of either description does the happiness accrue, of retaining the benefits of providence, and at the same time freeing themselves from anxieties and painful perturbations: nor can any one attain this except by means of Hercules, that is of fortitude and constancy, which, prepared for every event, and equally ready for every lot, looks forward without fear, enjoys with-

out satiety, and endures without impatience. And this is well worthy of remark, that this virtue was not innate in Prometheus, but adventitious, and procured by foreign assistance: for no in-born and natural fortitude is sufficient for such achievements. But this virtue was received and brought from the furthest ocean, and from the sun: for it springs from wisdom, as from the sun, and from meditation on the inconstancy and fluctuation of human life, as from navigation of the ocean: which two are well united by Virgil:

> Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas;
> Atque metus omnes, et inexorabile fatum,
> Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari.

It is added, with great elegance, to console and strengthen the minds of men, that this mighty hero sailed in a cup or urceus, in order that they may not too much fear and allege the narrowness of their nature and its frailty: as if it were not capable of such fortitude and constancy; of which very thing Seneca argued well, when he said, "It is a great thing to have at the same time the frailty of a man and the security of a God." But we must now return to that which we purposely passed over, not to break the connexion of events, that is, the latest accusation against Prometheus, that he had attempted the chastity of Minerva. For it was for this most heinous and heavy crime, also, that he suffered the punishment of the laceration of his entrails. This appears to signify

nothing else, than that men, inflated with their powers, and the extent of their science, too frequently attempt to subject divine wisdom also to their senses and reason; whence most certainly follows laceration of the mind, and perpetual and unquiet excitement. Thus with sober and submissive mind, we must distinguish between human and divine things, and the oracles of sense, and those of faith, unless perchance both an heretical religion, and a falsified philosophy, are after the hearts of men. The last which remains is, to consider the games ascribed to Prometheus, performed with burning torches. This again refers to arts and sciences, as does that fire to the memory and celebration of which these games were instituted, and contains an advice, and that a most prudent one: That the perfection of science is to be expected from succession, not from the quickness or powers of any individual. For those who are swiftest and strongest in the race and contest, are, perhaps, the very men least able to keep their torches lighted, since the danger of its extinction equally attends on rapid course and on a too slow one. But these races and contests of torch-bearers appear to have long ceased, and to have flourished most with certain authors of science, with Aristotle, Galen, Euclid, Ptolemy; and succession has effected nothing great, and scarcely even attempted it. And it were to be wished that these games, in honour of Prometheus or human nature, were re-

stored, and that the interests of science were promoted by competition and emulation, and happy fortune, and did not hang on the flickering and unsteady torch of any one man. Thus men are to be admonished to awake themselves, and dare to try their powers and their fortunes also, and not place everything in the souls and brains of a few men. These are the notions which appear to us to be shadowed out in this well known and hackneyed fable: yet we will not deny, that there may be certain foundations to it, which hint at the mysteries of the Christian religion with wonderful analogy; above all, the navigation of Hercules in the urceus to liberate Prometheus, appears to present an image of the Word of God hastening to the redemption of mankind in the flesh, as in some frail vessel. But we spontaneously interdict ourselves from all license in this line, lest, perchance, we use strange fire at the altar of the Lord.

XXVII. SCYLLA AND ICARUS, OR THE MIDDLE WAY.

MEDIOCRITY, or the middle way, is in morals the most praiseworthy, in intellectuals less celebrated, but not less useful and good; in politics only doubtful, and to be applied with judgment. Mediocrity in morals is noted by the ancients, by the way prescribed to Icarus; in in-

tellectuals, by that between Scylla and Charybdis, celebrated for its difficulties and dangers. Icarus was admonished by his father, on undertaking to fly over the sea, to guard against a too high or too low track: for, as his wings were glued with wax, if he let himself be borne too high, there was danger lest the wax should melt by the heat of the sun; if he let himself down too near the vapour rising from the sea, lest the wax should become less solid by the humidity. He, however, with youthful daring, strove to reach higher, and fell down headlong. This parable is simple and well known. For the path of virtue lies open straight between excess and defect. Nor is it to be wondered at, that Icarus perished by excess. For excess is usually the vice of youth, defect that of old age: yet, of two bad and dangerous paths he chose the better: for the defects are reckoned the most depraved; since in excess there is some magnanimity shewn, and some affinity to heaven, as in a bird: defect crawls on the ground like a reptile. Therefore, Heraclitus well said, "A dry light is the best soul." For if the soul contracts humidity from the earth, it entirely degenerates; while, on the other hand, measure must be kept, that its light become more subtle by that praiseworthy dryness, and that it be not caught in conflagration. These things are known to almost all. But the road between Scylla and Charybdis doth certainly require both skill and good fortune in sailing. For if the ships fall on

Scylla, they are dashed to pieces on the rocks; if on Charybdis, they are swallowed up. Of which parable this appears to be the force (which we will briefly touch on, although it draws after it endless contemplation), that in all doctrine and science, and in their rules and axioms, measure must be preserved between the rocks of Distinction and the whirlpools of Universals. For these two are infamous for the destruction of wit and science.

XXVIII. SPHINX, OR SCIENCE.

THE Sphinx is reported to have been a monster of a compounded form, with the face and voice of a virgin, the wings of a bird, the talons of a gryphon. She occupied the declivity of a hill in the Theban country, and obstructed the way. Her custom was to attack travellers from ambush and seize on them, and having reduced them under her power, she proposed to them certain obscure and perplexed enigmas, which were believed to have been given her and received from the muses. These if the wretched captives could not unriddle or interpret, in the midst of their hesitation and confusion she tore them to pieces with great ferocity. As this plague was reaching a great height, a reward was proposed by the Thebans (the monarchy of Thebes itself) to the man

who should be able to explain the enigmas of the Sphinx; for there was no other way to overcome her. Œdipus, a man of talent and prudence, but with lame and perforated feet, stimulated by such a prize, accepted the condition, and resolved to attempt the adventure. Then, confident and full of heart, he presented himself before the Sphinx. She demanded of him, what was that animal, which, born at first with four feet, afterwards became two-footed, then three-footed, and finally four-footed again. He with great presence of mind answered, that the riddle related to man, who at first birth and in infancy rolls like a quadruped, and scarcely tries to crawl; in no long time walks erect and with two feet, in old age leans on a stick, when a decrepit old man his nerves failing him, lies down on four feet, and is fastened to his bed. Thus having obtained victory by a true answer, he killed the Sphinx, whose body he placed on an ass, and led it about as in triumph, and was himself created King of the Thebans according to compact. This fable is elegant, and not less prudent, and appears to have been framed of science, and especially of that united with practice. Since science may be called a monster not absurdly, since to the ignorant and unskilful it is an object of wonder. It is compounded in figure and appearance, on account of the immense variety of the subjects with which science is conversant; its voice and countenance

are represented as those of a woman, on account of its beauty and eloquence; wings are added, because the sciences and their inventions are spread and fly in a moment, the communication of science being as that of light from light, which is kindled in an instant. With great elegance sharp and crooked talons are attributed to it, because the axioms and arguments of science penetrate the mind, and seize and hold it, so that it cannot move and glide away. Which the sacred philosopher also has noted: The words of the wise (he says) are like goads, and nails driven deep. All science, again, appears placed on the lofty and steep parts of mountains. For it is deservedly esteemed a sublime and lofty thing, and looks down on ignorance as from an elevated spot, and moreover, hath a wide prospect on every side, as is usual on the tops of mountains. Science is also feigned to obstruct the mountain roads, because in that journey or travel of human life, matter and opportunity of contemplation presses itself on us, and every where meets us. The Sphinx proposed various and difficult questions to mortals, which it has learnt from the muses. These, as long as they remain with the muses, are perhaps void of severity. For while there is no other end of meditation and disquisition than simple knowledge, the intellect is not oppressed and cramped, but spreads itself and wanders, and at that very doubt and variety feels no small plea-

sure and delight; but as soon as these enigmas are transmitted by the muses to the Sphinx, that is, to practice, when action and choice and will press on and compel us, then they begin to be grievous and irksome, and unless they are solved and ended, they wonderfully torment and vex the human mind, and distract it every way, and may be said to tear it. Therefore in the enigmas of the Sphinx there is always a double condition proposed: to the unsuccessful torment of mind, to the successful empire. For he who is master of his subject obtains his end, and every artificer rules his own workmanship. There are two general kinds of the enigmas of the Sphinx, riddles on the nature of things, and riddles on the nature of man, and in the same manner two kinds of empire reward the solution, empire over nature and empire over man. But the natural and proper ultimate end of true philosophy is, empire over natural things, over bodies, medicines, mechanical powers, and other infinite things; although the school, content with what is offered it, and swelling with mere words, neglects and almost casts aside things and experiments. Now the enigma which was proposed to Œdipus, by which he obtained the government of Thebes, related to the nature of man; for whoever has thoroughly examined the nature of man, he may be in a manner the artificer of his own fortune, and is born for

empire. As was well written of the arts of the Romans:

> Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
> Hæ tibi erunt artes.

Therefore it is a remarkable coincidence, that Augustus Cæsar used the emblem of the Sphinx, whether intentionally or gratuitously. For he, if ever any man did, most surely excelled in the art of government, and in the course of his life solved happily many new enigmas of the nature of man, which if he had not been dexterous and ready in solving, he would many times have been not far from imminent perdition and ruin. It is added also in the fable, that the body of the conquered Sphinx was placed on an ass; and with great elegance, since nothing is so acute and abstruse but that when once it is fully understood and made public, it may be trusted even to a sluggish one. Nor must we pass over that the Sphinx was subdued by a lame man, for men are wont to hurry to the enigmas of the Sphinx with too swift and rapid a pace; whence it arises, that the Sphinx being too strong for them, they rather tear their minds and faculties by disputation, than govern by acts and effect.

XXIX. PROSERPINE, OR SPIRIT.

THEY relate that Pluto, after having received the government of the infernal regions by that memorable partition, despaired of obtaining in marriage any of the divinities, should he try to win them by address and pleasant manners, so that it was necessary for him to direct his thoughts to ravishment. Therefore, having watched his opportunity, with a sudden assault he carried off Proserpine, the daughter of Ceres, a most beautiful virgin, while she was collecting the flowers of narcissus in the fields of Sicily, and bore her with him to the infernal regions in his car, where great reverence was paid her, so that she was called Queen of Dis. But Ceres her mother, when her only beloved daughter was nowhere to be found, sorrowful and anxious above measure, at length, bearing in her hand a lighted torch, traversed the whole circumference of the earth, to search for and recover her daughter. When this was all in vain, having received by chance information that she had been carried into the infernal regions, she wearied Jove with constant tears and lamentations, that she might be restored to her. And at length she obtained, that if Proserpine had not tasted any thing which was found in the in-

fernal regions, she should be allowed to bring her away. This condition was adverse to the wishes of the mother; for Proserpine was discovered to have tasted three grains of a pomegranate. Nor did Ceres cease upon this to resume her prayers and lamentations. At length therefore it was allowed her, that Proserpine at different seasons and by turns, should remain six months with her husband, the other six with her mother. This Proserpine, Theseus and Pirithous afterwards with singular daring attempted to tear away from the couch of Pluto; but having sat down, wearied in their journey, on a stone in the infernal regions, they had not the power to rise, but was left sitting for ever. Proserpine, therefore, remained Queen of the infernal regions, to whose honour also a great privilege was added: that, although it was impossible for those who had descended to those regions to return again, a single exception was added to this law, that if any one should bring to Proserpine for a gift the golden bough, he might for this purpose go and return. That single bough was in a great and thick grove, and was not a tree, but grew like a graft on another stick, and when torn away, another did not fail to follow.

This fable appears to relate to nature, and to that rich and fruitful power and quality in the subterraneous parts, by which our productions are made to grow, and into which they again are resolved and return. By Proserpine the ancients

signified that ethereal spirit which is torn from the surface of the globe, and shut up and confined under the earth (represented by Pluto), which the poet has not ill expressed:

> Sive recens tellus, seductaque nuper ab alto
> Æthere, cognati retinebat semina cœli.

That spirit is said to be ravished by the Earth, because it is impossible to constrain it, where time and space are given it to break out, but it is compressed and fixed down by a sudden violence; as, if any one attempts to mix air and water, he can by no means do it, except by a quick and rapid agitation; for in this manner we see those bodies united in foam, where the air is as it were ravished by the water. Nor is it without elegance added, that Proserpine was ravished while collecting flowers of narcissus in the valleys; because the narcissus receives its name from sleep or stupor; and the spirit is then most in a state to be ravished by the terrestrial matter, when it begins to coagulate, and as it were to collect torpor. Honour is also rightly paid to Proserpine, beyond the consort of any other god, as being Queen of Dis, because that spirit administers all things in those regions; Pluto remaining stupid and, as it were, ignorant. This spirit the air and power of the celestial parts (represented by Ceres), attempts with infinite watchfulness to draw out and restore to itself; and that ethereal torch or burning light in the hand of

Ceres, without doubt denotes the Sun, which performs the office of light round the circumference of the Earth, and would be most influential of all in the recovery of Proserpine, if that could by any means be effected. But she remains fixed, after a law accurately and excellently laid down in that compact of Jupiter and Ceres; for, in the first place, it is most certain that there are two ways of confining spirit in solid and terrestrial matter: the one by constrainment and obstruction, which is mere violent incarceration; the other by the administration of proportionable nourishment, which is done voluntarily. For when the inclosed spirit begins to feed and nourish itself, it does not hasten to fly away, but is fixed as it were in its own earth: and this is the tasting of the pomegranate by Proserpine; for, had not this taken place, she would long ago have been carried away by Ceres, who is wandering over the Earth with her torch. For the spirit which is contained in metals and minerals, is, perhaps, principally confined by the solidity of the mass; but that which is in plants and animals inhabits in a porous body, and has open means of escaping, were it not detained of its own accord by that mode of nourishment. The second agreement, of the division of six months, is nothing but an elegant description of the division of the year, since that spirit perfused the Earth, as far as relates to vegetables, inhabits above during the months of summer, and in the months of win-

ter returns to subterraneous regions. As to the adventure of Theseus and Pirithous to carry off Proserpine, it relates to an effort which frequently takes place, when the more subtle spirits which descend to the Earth in many bodies, by no means succeed in sucking up, uniting with themselves, and carrying off the subterranean spirit; but, on the other hand, are themselves coagulated, and never rise again; so that Proserpine is by their means increased in inhabitants and subjects. But with regard to the golden bough, it seems scarcely possible for us to resist the attack of the chemists, if they rush on us from this side; seeing that they promise, by means of their single stone, both mountains of gold, and the restitution of natural bodies, as it were, from the gates of the infernal regions. Yet, as to chemistry and the perpetual wooers of that stone, we know to a certainty that their theory is without foundation, and we suspect that their practice also has no certain reward. Therefore, passing over this, the following is our opinion of this last part of the parable. We certainly have found, from many figures of the ancients, that they did not hold it a thing utterly to be despaired of, to preserve and restore natural bodies up to a certain point, but rather as a thing abstruse and difficult of discovery. And this they appear to mean in this place also, where they have situated this golden twig among the innumerable boughs of a vast and thick wood. They make it golden,

because gold is the symbol of duration: grafted, because the effect is to be hoped for from some similar act, not by any medicine, or simple and natural method.

XXX. METIS, OR COUNSEL.

ANCIENT poets write that Jupiter took to wife Metis (whose name without obscurity signifies counsel), and that she became big with child from him. As soon as he observed this, he did not wait for her delivery, but immediately devoured her, whence he became himself pregnant. That a wondrous delivery followed, for he brought forth Pallas, armed from his head or brain. The sense of this monstrous and, at first sight, most silly fable, appears to contain some secrets of government, the arts, namely, which kings are wont to use in their behaviour to their councils, so that their own authority and majesty may not only be preserved untouched, but may even be exalted and increased among the people. For kings rightly judge, that to be united and, as it were, joined in marriage with their councils, and to deliberate with them on affairs of the first importance, is no diminution of their majesty: but when it becomes time for decision (which answers to delivery), they do not allow the part of the council to reach any farther, lest their actions should appear to depend

on the will of the council: but then at length (unless the affair in hand be of such a nature as may excite them to wish to turn the unpopularity consequent on it into other channels, are wont to transfer to themselves whatever has been wrought out, and, as it were, formed in the womb by their council, so that the decision and execution (which, because it comes forth with power and reduces to necessity, is elegantly typified under the figure of an armed Pallas), may appear to emanate from themselves. Nor is it enough that the authority of kings, and their will, free, unfettered, and not invidious, should be impressed on these decisions; unless they also assume this to themselves, that these decrees may seem to spring from their head, that is, from their proper judgment and prudence.

XXXI. THE SIRENS, OR PLEASURE.

THE fable of the Sirens, by a very common interpretation, and a right one, is transferred to the pernicious allurements of pleasure. To us, however, The Wisdom of the Ancients appears to be as ill-pressed grapes, from which, although somewhat be expressed, yet all the more precious parts remain within, and are neglected. The Sirens are represented to have been the daughters of Achelous and the muse Terpsichore. At first

they were possessed of wings, but having rashly entered into a contest with the Muses, were punished by a deprivation of them. From their wings thus torn away, the Muses made to themselves chaplets; so that from that time the Muses possessed wings to their heads, except only the mother of the Sirens. The habitation of the Sirens was in certain pleasant islands. Whenever they beheld from an eminence ships approaching, they by their songs first detained navigators, then drew them towards them, and when caught slew them. Nor was their song of one nature only, but they allured each man with such strains as were most agreeable to his nature. So great was the evil, that the isles of Sirens, even when seen afar off, were white with the bones of unburied carcases. To this evil, two remedies of different natures and application, were discovered: one by Ulysses, the other by Orpheus. Ulysses, ordered that the ears of all his companions should be stopped with wax: yet, wishing to make experiment of the wonder, and at the same time ward off the danger, would have himself bound to his mast, with orders that no one should loose him, even were he to ask it. Orpheus, without using any such chains, loudly singing the praises of the gods to his lyre, drowned the voices of the Sirens, and kept out of danger.

This fable relates to moral science, and appears, indeed, a parable clear of interpretation, but not

the less elegant. Pleasures proceed from abundance and affluence, and from mirth or hilarity of spirit. Formerly they used to hurry away men with their first allurements suddenly, and, as it were, with wings. But science and erudition have effected at least thus much, that the mind of man does in some measure restrain itself, and weighs in itself the consequences of action. Thus they have deprived the pleasures of their wings. This became great honour and glory to the Muses; for, as soon as it became evident by the example of some, that philosophy was able to induce contempt of pleasures, it appeared immediately a sublime thing, able to raise and lift up the soul, as it were, fixed on earth, and to make the thoughts of men (which rest in the head) winged and ethereal. The mother of the Sirens only remained without wings, and bound to the earth. This Muse, beyond doubt, is nothing else than those light sciences which have been invented for the sake of pleasure; such as appear to have been esteemed by that Petronius, who, when he was under sentence of death, sought for pleasure at the very gates of death; and, wishing to enjoy the solace of letters also, he read nothing (says Tacitus) written to arm men with constancy; but light verses, such as are the following:

Vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus,
Rumoresque senium sæviorum
Omnes unius æstimemus assis.

And

Jura senes nôrint, et quid sit fasque nefasque,
Inquirant tristes, legumque examina servent.

For such doctrines as these appear to wish again to take off the wings from the crown of the Muses, and restore them to the Sirens. These Sirens are said to inhabit islands, because they generally seek retreats from men, and frequently avoid their haunts. The song of the Sirens has been celebrated so as to be well-known to all, and its destructiveness, and the variety of its artifices, so that this part needs no interpreter. There is something more far fetched in the bones appearing like white hills from a distance, which signifies, that the most evident and conspicuous examples of calamity are of little avail against the corruption of pleasure. There remains a parable, in the remedies employed, not abstruse, but nevertheless sagacious and noble. Three remedies are proposed for this insinuating, and, at the same time, violent evil: two by philosophy, the third by religion. The first method of escape is, to resist the beginning of pleasure, and sedulously to avoid all occasions which may tempt and influence the soul, which is denoted by the stopping of the ears. And this remedy is necessarily to be applied to vulgar and plebeian spirits, such as the companions of Ulysses. But loftier souls may even sojourn in the midst of pleasures, if they fortify themselves with determination; and do ever by this means

rejoice in trying a more serious experiment on their virtue; they learn also the folly and madness of the pleasures, by contemplating them without yielding to them; which Solomon professed of himself, when he finishes the enumeration of the pleasures with which he abounded, with the following sentence, "Wisdom also continued with me." Thus such heroes can shew themselves unmoved amidst the greatest allurements of pleasure, and keep upright on its headlong descent; only, after the example of Ulysses, forbidding the pernicious counsels and obsequiousness of their attendance, which have power above all things to corrupt and sap the foundations of the mind. But the most excellent in every way is the remedy of Orpheus, who, by singing and shouting the praises of the gods, drowned and dissipated the voices of the Sirens. For the meditation of divine things surpasses sensual pleasure, not only in power but in sweetness also.

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THE END.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY C. WHITTINGHAM, TOOKS COURT.

00059860

Digitized with financial assistance from
Mrs.Padma Barve
on 13 March, 2020